

J. T. Murphy's Articles on "What's Doing in England" Start in the DAILY WORKER Monday

LEGION THUGS OUST SOCIALIST MAYOR IN N. J.

Was Easy Mark; Had No Organization

By LUDWELL DENNY.
(Staff Correspondent of Associated Press)
RAHWAY, N. J., April 4.—Mobs of hundreds of thugs in this New York suburb threatened violence against their defeated liberal opponents in the town election which threw out the commission form of government, forced the resignation of the socialist mayor, and turned Rahway over to the dictatorship of the American Legion and so-called Loyal Citizens' Association.

The mob, which unsuccessfully attempted to victimize a progressive, Louis F. Budenz, on the night of the election, March 25, is planning another demonstration. Budenz, editor of The Labor Age, published in New York, the not a socialist, had campaigned for Mayor James E. Furber. When the vote of 2,922 to 981 against the reform administration was announced, a mob of more than a thousand formed behind 60 automobiles, headed by an empty coffin draped with an American flag, and started for the mayor's house. Not finding Furber, they paraded to Budenz's house.

Didn't Know His Color.
"Kill the red," the inflamed patriots yelled hammering on the doors. Three times the mob came and went, demanding that Budenz come out and take his medicine. Finally they gathered around the coffin on the lawn, and with the automobile light playing on it, held a ceremony to the accompanying bugle playing taps for the dead.

The police arrived each time after the mob had departed. Mrs. Budenz's sick sister Anna Giess, was in the house during the wild orgy on the lawn.

The trouble goes back 20 years when Furber, as a reform republican mayor, fought the political machine. Six years ago he led the citizen's crusade for a commission form of government to supplant the rotten ward system in Rahway. He was one of the first commissioners to be elected after the victory. Two years ago Furber was chosen mayor. Despite the two republican commissioners he has instituted various reforms which gained him the opposition of bankers and business men. Two years ago, he refused to march in an American Legion memorial parade on the grounds that the soldiers had been duped into dying for a mistaken ideal. This, coupled with his activities as a pacifist during the war, made him a marked man by the Legion.

Municipal Reforms Accomplished.
By instituting an efficient paid fire department he incurred the enmity of the volunteer firemen, a social club and political machine of shady reputation, whose members have been getting tax exemption. He fired the chief of police who refused to stop gambling at an American Legion carnival two years ago. He appointed a former policeman, Joseph Gerlach, as chief after a long struggle with the opposing commissioners.

Gerlach is a Roman Catholic, and the mayor's school board appointee, Mrs. Bernard Engleman, is a Jewess. That was too much for the hundred percenters who organized a secret society to defeat Furber. The campaign was conducted with intimidation and the issue stated as Americanism versus Bolshevism. With commission government voted down the mayor was made powerless. While his enemies were organizing a recall campaign he resigned, March 27. The mayor's support came from the Progressive club and the railway unionists. There is no socialist organization in the town, and scarcely 20 socialists.

The mayor's successful reforms which trod upon the toes of local bankers and business men are the municipal camp site and swimming pool, city milk stations and coal stations selling at cost.

Party Membership, Attention!

THE PRESENT situation of the Workers Party in the struggle for the formation of a mass, class Farmer-Labor Party will be presented to the membership of the party in a series of membership mass meetings in the principal cities.

The development of the Farmer-Labor movement requires the mobilization of the entire party for an intensive campaign during the coming months. It is essential that every party member not only give the campaign the greatest support possible, but it is equally important that every member of the party know exactly what the party is trying to do. The whole party must understand the role in the struggle for the Farmer-Labor Party plays in the struggle for the Proletarian Revolution, the Soviets and Proletarian Dictatorship.

In order to present the situation to the membership meetings have been arranged in the district headquarters city of eight districts, which will be attended by the members in these cities and also by comrades invited from the nearby cities. These meetings will be addressed by C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary of the Party. His subject will be "The Decisive Stage of our Labor Party Policy."

The meetings arranged are:
Cleveland, Sunday, April 6, at 3 p. m., Labor Temple, 2536 Euclid Ave.

Pittsburg, Monday, April 7, 8 p. m., Labor Lyceum, 35 Miller St. Philadelphia, Tuesday, April 8, 8 p. m., Amalgamated Centre, 431 Pine St.

New York City, Wednesday, April 9, 8 p. m., Stuyvesant Casino, 142 Second Ave.

Boston, Thursday, April 10, 8 p. m., Credit Union Hall, 62 Chambers Street.

Buffalo, Saturday, April 12, Finnish Hall, 150 Grider St.

Detroit, Sunday, April 13, 2:30 p. m., Finnish Hall, 5963 14th St.

Chicago, Tuesday, April 22.
Every party member in the cities mentioned should attend these meetings. Every party member within reach of these cities should come to the meetings.

The Party must know and understand the policies of the Central Executive Committee. The Party must mobilize all its strength for the campaign which the Party is now entering.

Bank Rolls of Bosses Get Slim

(Continued from page 1)
day, if under five. When the Hargrave agency contracts to "run the plant efficiently and guarantee to break the strike," the charge is \$7 per day per party supplied. This is the "complete service," including "experienced operators" to run the machines and "get out the work."

The number of guards needed varies, "depending on the entrance." For a plant of 15 workers, "two guards should be sufficient." And the great advantage of the Hargrave service is that the guards are all "deputy sheriffs," so that in case there is any trouble, any one gets shot, you know, or if someone brings suit against your firm, there won't be any difficulty.

Co-operation Makes It Cheaper.
Of course, with Mayor Devere's police and State's Attorney Crowe's men cooperating so nicely with the private slugs, the bosses really don't need more than two or three hired guards, deputized or otherwise, at their doors. But few of the bosses have under three guards each, which means \$24 a day out of their pockets to the agency, plus whatever the booze and palm-greasing costs. Five guards would cost the boss \$35 a day.

Suppose the employer is having "complete service," as many of them are, and that the agency is supplying five scabs and three guards. Then the boss must pay \$35 every day for his scabby workers and \$15 for their guards, or \$50 a day on "service" alone. Now if the boss has had this "complete service" for the full time of the strike, that is five weeks, he has paid only a paltry \$1,750 to keep his shop going.

If he has had more operators than five, the cost has been that much greater. If he had ten workers and guards in proportion, the charges have mounted up to some \$3,750 by now.

Thug Cost is \$50,000.
There are at least ten big garment bosses whose costs must have run up to at least the \$40,000 mark by now, if not much over it when injunction costs, court service, and official "hand-warming" expenses are added. To say then, that the Chicago ladies' garment workers from winning their strike, is speaking mildly. We haven't added all the little fellows' charges in.

But just on the surface, as far as we've gone, it looks as if the strike were hitting the bosses more severely by far than a little consideration in the way of higher wages and improved conditions for their former union employees would have cost.

Some Views About Crowe.
"Some fellows hate to lose their jobs" is right!

A bloated, bleary-eyed Crowe's man came up to a DAILY WORKER reporter in front of Arthur Weiss' shop on W. Adams street, to argue that his master, State's Attorney Crowe is the best crime-buster the city of Chicago could have.

"There isn't a finer man for the job. There ought to be more like him. Why if the laws of this country weren't so lax, he'd have men like the editors of your paper in jail long ago. Those fellows ought to go back to the country they come from. It isn't right; they're against the government, the Crowe's man expostulated indignantly.

"Look there at that picket with the fur collar. The other day she walked up and down for an hour with a pigmy man," the irate dick continued. If she done that down in Georgia they would have strung the two of them up there in the middle of the street. Tarred and feathered 'em."

"Sure I'm for Crowe. See the button?" And he swaggered away.

Still on the Battlefield.
"We're still on the battlefield and are going on to continue with as much vigor as before," was President Morris Sigman's forceful answer to the rumors that have been spreading about the weakening of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' strike.

"It is my sincere belief," Sigman went on, speaking to the assembled strikers at a mass meeting, "that many employers feel very uncomfortable just now. The scab element

is always unsatisfactory at best. Sluggers, legal as well as illegal, are expensive. And in spite of what the lawyers say, injunctions do not destroy strikes."

Bad Break in Editorial.
Sigman explained that an unfortunate editorial in "Justice," official organ of the international union, intended to relate to the Camden, N. J., strike but labelled as referring to the Chicago strike, had misled some of the girls as well as the bosses and public.

"No sane union and no sane leadership would go to the press to discuss tactics and the calling off of a strike," said Sigman. "If we had any intention of calling off the strike we would come directly to the workers, to you here," Sigman concluded.

President Sigman made it clear that the international would continue to support the strike financially, as well as by verbal encouragement, and that the executives did not consider the situation in any way disheartening.

Keep up the picket lines full strength," he said.

Release 50 Strikers On Bonds.
Fifty strikers, who have been found guilty of contempt of court by Judge Sullivan for violation of his injunction, were released on bonds yesterday. Their release was secured pending an appeal to the appellate court of all cases of strikers sentenced for contempt.

Nearly the entire day was taken up in arranging the bonds. Orders made out by the defense attorneys were objected to by Dudley Taylor and other lawyers for the bosses. The objections were technical. Peter Sissman, senior counsel for the strikers, had sent to Dudley Taylor a copy of the order he proposed using Thursday evening and Taylor made no objection till the orders were produced in court.

All fifty orders had to be made up again in order to agree with the ideas of Taylor on what a bond order should be. Finally, late in the afternoon the orders were signed and the strikers permitted to go home after signing them.

Eight strikers were found guilty of contempt while the others were waiting for their release. The case against them was purely perfunctory and they were all fined \$100 and costs. Their cases will also be appealed.

Wants to Make It Good Biting.
Those found guilty of contempt yesterday and fined were: John Sweid, Matthew Rababaskas, Albert Dubiel, Ben Stach, Adolph Schabash, Stanley Skore, Albert Ferguson and Maurice Ulitsky.

Arthur Weiss, leader of the anti-union bosses, told people who talked to him recently that the manufacturers will fight the union and the strikers even if the strike is ended soon. He is reported to have said that the bosses want to see the strikers so thoroughly beaten that they will not attempt to organize for a long time.

This decision was reached at a recent meeting of the dress manufacturers association, Weiss said. The bosses are prepared to help Judge Sullivan send the workers to jail as long as there are cases to fight. The association, according to Weiss, is anxious to see that more strikers are convicted for contempt.

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The DAILY WORKER has collected much evidence of this renewed activity of the Chicago rent-hogs, which we are printing below, and we print also the names of the landlords and agents who are boosting the rents.

Mr. C. L. Fleming, 1030 E. 41st Place, whose landlady is Mrs. Rose Burnett, will have to pay \$20 more a month beginning May first.

Simon J. Williams of 5245 Indiana street and Walter Smiley in the same building, report that their rent is being increased on May first from \$70 to \$95 an increase of \$25 per month.

The owners of this house are Ellis and Charles Dean and the agent is Clarence Corbin, another unscrupulous gang profiting off the Negro race.

Mrs. Robert Lewis, 3127 Ellis avenue, has had her rent increased from \$70 to \$90 a month beginning May first. The agent for the property is H. C. Dean, located on 58rd street.

The fifteen flat building at 801-11 Bradley Place, near Grace and Halsted streets, has had its rent doubled in all fifteen flats since May, 1918, when the rent was \$28 per month. This spring the rent is being increased from \$55 to \$70 per month. The landlord of this building is John J. Brievis, and his agent is George Kappes.

Why the Increase?
Eugene Seelenbach, 315 E. Ontario street, HAS HAD HIS RENT INCREASED FROM \$30 to \$175 per month. His landlady is W. D. Sawyer, 330 N. Water Street.

Constantine Morris, 1221 W. Adams street, reports his rent will be raised on May first from \$48.50 to \$60. This building is very old and the present tenant has been there for thirteen years. The landlord is George Estabrook and his agent is A. P. Rankin and Company, 1256 W. Madison street.

Most of these buildings are old, and have not been repaired by the landlord for many years. Advertise these landlords who are unfairly raising rents without reason.

Freiheit Concert.
The Mandolin Orchestra of the Freiheit Singing Society will play at the concert which is arranged for May 18, at the People's Institute, Taylor and Little streets.

Coal in North Russia.
MOSCOW, April 4.—Powerful layers of coal have been uncovered in the basin of the river Uss, an affluent of the Petchora (North Russia).

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS ROTTEN SAYS VANDERLIP

Aged Banker Resigns All Directorships

(Special to The Daily Worker)
WASHINGTON, April 4.—Frank A. Vanderlip has cut loose from Wall Street.

With one stroke of his pen he severed all the ties that have bound into the company of the nation's mightiest money men and voicing regret that his former colleagues were blind to conditions, bade them farewell.

Vanderlip announced he had taken a step which he told friends here ten days ago he seriously contemplated. He has resigned from all directorships on which he was a member. His cutting adrift from Wall Street, to be free to go on, unannoyed by the criticisms of business associates, with his "dry cleaning" of the government here, was announced in a letter to E. P. Swenson, president of the Freight Texas Company, New York. Swenson has asked Vanderlip to retire from that company's board, because of his activities here, and Vanderlip, complying said:

"I am quite willing to comply with your request. My one regret is that men with whom I have long been associated in business now are so blind to the present situation in the government at Washington. . . . I would leave with you and my other business friends one simple thought to ponder:

"If this country were suddenly to be faced by a great crisis in which there was need for wise, vigorous and honest action to protect our national life, would you be satisfied to face the emergency under governmental conditions such as have been the rule for the last three years?"

Vanderlip is the director in concerns, among others: International Mercantile Marine, Union Pacific, Oregon Short Line Railroad, United States Rubber Company, U. S. Realty, Oregon and Washington Railroad, Los Angeles and San Pedro Railroad.

At a lecture, the speaker crated fervently: "He drove straight to the goal. He looked neither to the right nor to the left, but pressed forward, moved by a definite purpose. Neither friend nor foe could delay him, nor turn him from his course. All who crossed his path did so at their own peril. What would you call such a man?"

"A truck driver!" shouted a voice from the audience.

Duluth Farmer-Labor.
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The call was issued to labor unions, ladies' auxiliaries, farmers' clubs, cooperative and progressive organizations. Each congressional aspirant was instructed to support the party winner in the general election.

Frisco Bakers Want Raise.
SAN FRANCISCO, April 4.—The Cracker Bakers' Union has asked for a wage raise of \$1 a day, to be effective May 1st. The raise, which has the endorsement of the Central Labor Council, is being considered by the employers and will probably be granted. The union, 375 strong, is almost entirely composed of women.

Buenos Aires Reds Win.
BUENOS AIRES, April 4.—Socialist candidates won overwhelming victories over their "radical" opponents in elections to the chamber of deputies, final returns today showed. Only six "radicals," the party to which President Alvear belongs, were returned.

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While listening to a speech here last night by Governor Len Small, Dennis Denney fell dead from a heart attack. Denney was standing on a chair in order to get a view of the speaker when he collapsed.

Why Not Try Burns Agency.
Mrs. Arthur Burns, wife of a wealthy building contractor, today examined rogues gallery photographs in an effort to identify the men who last night tied her to a chair in her home and robbed her of \$35,000 worth of jewelry, paintings and rugs.

Friends Will Be Friends.
Pat was hard hit and sinking rapidly, so a chaplain was summoned. "Pat," he said gravely, "you are about to go west. While you have time you must renounce the devil."

More Crooks Nabbed.
NEW YORK, April 4.—A grand jury today filed with Justice John F. Mcintyre thirty indictments against four active heads of the defunct firm of E. W. Wagner and Company, stock exchange house which failed in December, 1921, for more than \$10,000,000.

Radio Fan Victim.
GALESBURG, Ill., April 4.—Howard Philblad, 19, Knoxville, Ill., was instantly killed Wednesday afternoon when a radio aerial wire with which he was working came in contact with a 2,300 volt high tension power wire.

Impeach Coolidge!
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Pardon Sold For \$50,000

(Continued from page 1)
the contents of the records were made known to the defendants and the suits, it would "result in great injury to the public interest."

Weeks also asked that the records at all times be left in custody of Captain Voland, so that the war department's responsibility for them would not be interrupted. He said Voland would produce them whenever the committee desired them.

The committee went into executive session immediately after receipt of Weeks' letter to consider his request to keep the documents secret.

Burns Spills His Stuff.
William J. Burns, chief of the bureau of investigation of the department of justice, today told the senate Daugherty investigating committee that he was prevented from going after the "higher ups" behind the "dope" traffic at Atlanta penitentiary.

Declaring that he was told by one of his agents that Superintendent of Prisons Voland, brother-in-law of the late President Harding, had ordered his investigation of the traffic stopped, Burns said he had appealed to his superiors in the department of justice without avail. He told the committee that if he

had been permitted to push the inquiry, he believed he would have caught those behind the traffic and stopped it. He said the traffic is still going on, as part of the activities of a nationwide drug "ring."

Burns was called to the stand at the end of a day of inquiry into conditions at Atlanta in which J. S. Dyche, former warden, was the principal witness.

Dyche's testimony consumed most of the day's session. He told of efforts to stamp out traffic in dope at the prison and said that H. H. Votaw, superintendent of federal prisons and brother-in-law of the late President Harding, had blocked investigation of the traffic because of publicity attendant upon it, after four indictments had been returned.

Worse at Leavenworth.
Dyche said the sale of dope was worse at Leavenworth than at Atlanta.

"How do you know?"
"When I reported 650 addicts, the superintendent of Leavenworth reported 1,000 addicts."

Poor Committee Are Tired.
No further hearings of the committee will be held until Monday in order to give the members a rest, Chairman Brookhart announced after the session.

Oily Candidates Trail Behind Bob And Al in Wisconsin
(Special to The Daily Worker)
MILWAUKEE, Wis., April 4.—With 1,461 precincts reported out of 2,674 precincts, returns of Wednesday's election, Senator Robert M. LaFollette's slate of delegates to the national republican convention were leading the President Coolidge slate, 87,363, the vote being:

LaFollette 169,789; Coolidge 82,429.

Returns of 1,130 precincts in the democratic delegate election, gave Governor Smith 37,173; McAdoo 24,989.

Economic Interpretation of History.
At a lecture, the speaker crated fervently: "He drove straight to the goal. He looked neither to the right nor to the left, but pressed forward, moved by a definite purpose. Neither friend nor foe could delay him, nor turn him from his course. All who crossed his path did so at their own peril. What would you call such a man?"

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MONARCHISM IN GERMANY STAGES BIG COMEBACK

Live Kings Are Risky Investments

BERLIN, April 4.—Monarchism has burst upon Germany in unblinking openness. Republicans and monarchists brawl in the streets and no day passes without some demonstration by those who want a new "all highest."

At a mighty nationalistic demonstration during the funeral of Willy Dreyer, Ruhr Saboteur, who died in a French prison at St. Martin, the flag of Republican Germany was ripped from a staff. Emblems of anti-semitism were raised and three ministers walked bare-headed past them.

The party of former Chancellor Stresemann is advocating a democratic monarchy while a nationalist convention at Hamburg voted for the old time monarchy.

A "Bismarck celebration" last night was made the occasion for violent outbursts on the part of monarchist sympathizers, while the end of the Ludendorff trial at Munich was marked by nationalist rejoicing.

Only Chancellor Marx and a couple of other ministers are "out and out" republicans.

Republicans Send Up Balloon.
WASHINGTON, April 3.—Coolidge and Pepper is the ticket upon which a certain influential group of Republican conservatives have united.

When Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania today delivers the party's keynote speech before the Republicans of Maine, it will be in the nature of a tryout for him, as well as a party "trial balloon," to see how the winds of popular sentiment are blowing.

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BIG LEADERS IN BOTH PARTIES FEAR OIL QUIZ

All Sprinkled With the Same Oil Brush

By LAURENCE TODD
(Staff Correspondent of the Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, April 4.—Altho social and personal pressure of the most insidious kind is being exerted, especially from within the Democratic ranks in congress, to stop the investigation into the affairs of the department of justice, Chairman Brookhart and Senator Wheeler say they are going forward to its main object—the exposure of the throttling of the enforcement of federal law by Daugherty and his staff.

For even with the dismissal of the attorney general, the department makes no change in its policy of indifference to the rights of ordinary people.

If they are to escape the deep suspicion of betrayal of the millions of voters who now applaud their courage, the members of this committee must take up the non-prosecution of the 50 federal trade commission complaints filed for prosecution within the past three years.

Kirby, Lumber Thief.

There is, for instance, the great lumber selling pool case, in which the notorious J. H. Kirby of Texas, rabid wartime "patriot" and millionaire profiteer, is the central figure. Kirby has quit being a Burleson Democrat, and is now a Coolidge Republican. He recently issued a statement denouncing the muckraking in Washington. Daugherty has failed to prosecute Kirby and his associates.

The name of Fred Upham, treasurer of the Republican national committee, is said to be involved in the stopping of prosecution of another of the big cases which the commission prepared for court action at Daugherty's hands. In still another instance, no less than 40,000 letters, proving a nationwide fraud, were turned over to the department of justice by the commission after many months of investigation and study of evidence, yet here again there has been paralysis in the law enforcing arm of the government.

Palmer, Messed Up.

One of the underground arguments capitalized by the democrats—men who are backing Oscar Underwood or Ralston for the presidency—to bring Ashurst and Wheeler, the democratic senators on the committee, into line for a stoppage of the inquiry that the former Attorney General Palmer played much the same game.

Palmer defied the laws not merely in arresting the supposed radicals in the labor movement, and in securing lawless injunctions against strikers, and in instructing his special agents that they must ignore violations of the prohibition law, but in handling the alien property custodian's office, in delaying and compromising the fight with the meat packers, and in handing over vast oil deposits to Standard Oil under pretense of compromise of suits by dummy claimants.

Alien property scandals are likely to break forth in this hearing, anyhow. Miller of Delaware, the alien property custodian at present, is a former secretary of the Republican national congressional committee, a member of the DuPont family combination which secured from Palmer's man Garvin the chemical patents. Huge sums have been paid by him to republican politicians of various states, as "attorney fees"—for which the aliens must pay.

Finally, and fundamentally, there is the "striking record" and policy of the department of justice to be investigated. Chairman Brookhart is willing to go thoroughly into this class prejudice attitude shown by Palmer and Daugherty and Burns. He considers it the perfect fruit of the system of ownership of the department by and for the big propertied interests centered in Wall Street.

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Trachtenberg Tour

Saturday, April 5, 8 p. m., Pittsburgh, Pa., Labor Lyceum, 25 Miller St.
Sunday, April 6, 2 p. m., Pittsburgh, Pa., Moose Temple, Penn. Ave. between 6th and 7th Sts.
Monday, April 7, 7 p. m., Bendleyville, Pa., Union Hall, center of the village.
Tuesday, April 8, 8 p. m., Canton, Ohio, Schleichbach Hall, 421 Market Ave. N.
Wednesday, April 9, 8 p. m., Youngstown, Ohio, full details to appear later.
Thursday, April 10, 8 p. m., Warren, Ohio, Hippodrome Hall, High St., 3rd door.
Friday, April 11, 7:30 p. m., Cleveland, Ohio, Labor Temple, 2536 Euclid Ave.
Saturday, April 12, 8:30 p. m., Cleveland, Royal Hall, 3217 Woodland.
Monday, April 14, 8 p. m., Toledo, Ohio, Labor Temple, Jefferson and Michigan.
Tuesday, April 15, 8 p. m., Detroit, House of the Masses, 2101 Grafton Ave.
Wednesday, April 16, 8 p. m., Detroit, House of the Masses, 2101 Grafton Ave. (Russian Trade Union).
Thursday, April 17, Grand Rapids, full details to appear later.
Friday, April 18, Milwaukee, full details to appear later.
Saturday, April 19, Gary, Ind., full details to appear later.

JUDGE TRIED TO STEAL MARCH ON SACCO COUNSEL

Did Not Notify Lawyers Of His Decision

(By The Daily Worker)

DEDHAM, Mass., April 4.—If Nicola Sacco, frame-up victim and labor prisoner, finally escapes the electric chair despite the big business interests and legal powers which are determined to get him, he may have his bitter enemy, the capitalist press to thank. Had it not been for a stray item in the capitalist press aimed further to discredit the defense, Sacco's appeal might have been lost by default and he would now be preparing to go to the electric chair for the pay roll murder he never committed.

Crude Attempt to Get Sacco

The latest developments in the case add to the devious methods employed by the state's attorneys and judge. Judge Webster Thayer, of the superior court here, gave a decision March 26 denying the appeal for a new trial, finding that the barrels of the two pistols which had figured as evidence had been interchanged. For some mysterious reason Thayer failed to notify the defense of the decision. Under the state law notice of a bill of exceptions against a decision must be given within three days after the decision is rendered, or the right of appeal is sacrificed. Thus the Sacco case would have been lost had not the defense attorney discovered the judge's decision in a newspaper. The discovery was made on the last day of grace, just in time to permit giving notice of appeal.

The action is inexplicable especially as Defense Attorney Moore talked with him on the day of the decision and the two days following, no mention was made by the judge of his decision.

The decision refusing a new trial upholds the state's contention that the original Sacco gun barrel was transferred to another exhibit. The defense holds that the original, which proves that Sacco could not have fired the shot which killed the South Braintree paymaster and assistant in 1920, has disappeared altogether. Thayer, whose decision excluded the defense contention, refused in the recent hearings to permit Sacco's lawyers to submit evidence proving this point. On this basis the defense will file a bill of exceptions and motion for a new trial.

Prosecution Tampered Evidence

During the hearings last autumn the disputed guns were examined in the presence of experts for both sides. Albert H. Hamilton for the defense showed that the fatal bullet could not have been fired from Sacco's gun. Now when he attempts to check up on the exact opposite report of the state experts, he finds not the original but another gun barrel. The new appeal will charge that the exhibits have been tampered with.

On alleged framed-up testimony against him and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Sacco was convicted in July, 1921, of murder. The case has roused the workers in many countries to protest. Last year Sacco, waiting appeal, was adjudged temporarily insane and committed to the Bridgewater Institution. But last fall he was sent back to Dedham jail.

Fichman's Story of Cheap Living Sounds, Looks Rather Fishy

NEW ORLEANS, April 4.—Brass check newspapers in this city are spreading a report on their front pages for Dr. Fichman in which the gentleman says that a family of five can live easy on \$21 a week provided they had no rent to pay. Getting down to brass tacks, the learned Dr. says a single man can spend \$2.50 a week for food, one dollar for clothing, 45 cents a week for fuel and lights, and one dollar for incidentals, such as car fare, to get to work and the like, or a grand total of \$5.25 a week, sleeping, of course, on the park benches in the summer and the police station in the winter time, presumably. This ought to be a signal for a general reduction of wages among the patriotic employers of the south.

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BIG CONVENTION IS ENDORSED BY DOWELL MINERS

Say It Is Best Reply to Teapot Dome

(Special to The Daily Worker)

DOWELL, Ill., April 4.—Declaring that the only fitting reply to the Teapot Dome scandal is the organization of a powerful Farmer-Labor party to wrest governmental power from the capitalist crooks who now control it and battle for workers and farmers' government, Local Union No. 3708 of the United Mine Workers of America at Dowell, Illinois, passed a resolution endorsing the national Farmer-Labor convention to be held in St. Paul on June 17, by the progressive forces in the farmers' and trade union organizations of the United States.

The resolution is signed by Carl Dillworth, president, and Mike Skarupa, recording secretary, and reads as follows:

"The senate investigation of the Teapot Dome oil leases shows that the government of the United States under both republican and democratic administrations serves the capitalists as an instrument for looting the nation. Senators, cabinet officers, have been exposed as the paid men of big capitalist oil interests and even presidents are not immune from their influence. Fall, Denby, McAdoo, Daugherty, Lane, Roosevelt; these are the names which the workers and farmers of this country have been asked to honor but now they are all covered with the slime of corruption and graft.

"The Teapot Dome exposures only prove again on a larger scale what has been proven in this country hundreds of times; that the government of the United States serves the interests of a privileged class and is the enemy of the workers and farmers who produce the wealth of the country. It proves again that not one among the high and mighty of the old parties is immune from the corruption, grafting and looting thru which the capitalists take for themselves the wealth of the nation. It proves again that the existing system of industry and government is part of one system of special privilege and exploitation thru which the workers and farmers are robbed of what they produce.

"There is only one answer to the Teapot Dome and whole system of Teapot Domes, which is capitalism, the organization of a Farmer-Labor Party, the struggle for the workers' and farmers' government. Only a Workers' and Farmers' government will end the looting of the nation by the capitalists. A great mass Farmer-Labor Party must carry on the struggle to establish that workers' and farmers' government.

"Whereas, A convention has been called for June 17th, 1924, at St. Paul, by the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, the Farmer-Labor Party of Washington, Montana and South Dakota, and other organizations for the nomination of a Farmer-Labor candidate for president and the adoption of a national platform, of this convention gives the opportunity to create the mass Farmer-Labor Party which will carry on the fight for a Workers' and Farmers' government.

"Therefore, be it resolved, That we, Local Union No. 3708, U. M. W. of A., Dowell, Illinois, endorse the June 17th, 1924, convention; and

"Be it further resolved: That a copy of this resolution be sent to the 'Illinois Miner', Federated Press and the DAILY WORKER."

Chinese in Second Big Demonstration To Honor N. Lenin

(By Rosta News Agency.)

CANTON, April 4.—In pursuance of age-long Chinese custom, the Kuomintang Party again paid honor to Lenin's memory—a month after his death. A huge popular meeting was held in the city garden making an indelible impression by its dimensions and organization. There were distributed thousands of specially written pamphlets on Lenin as a friend of the oppressed nations in their struggle for their rights, his portraits with national and revolutionary inscriptions on them, and leaflets explaining Lenin's importance as a leader of all oppressed and toilers.

Various Kuomintang organizations, trade unions, army units, and students—each and all passed before a platform, decorated with Lenin's portrait and placards bearing appropriate texts, bowing three times as they passed by.

Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the Central Committee of the Kuomintang and the high command of the various armies stationed at Canton took part in the meeting and the official procession past the platform. The speeches that were made on the occasion were distinguished by the sincere, cordial and enthusiastic feelings imbuing them—testifying to the great and deep influence of Lenin on the national movement of China.

Catholic Paper Goes Open Shop.

SEATTLE, Wash., April 4.—The Catholic Northwest Progress, formerly printed in a Seattle union shop, is now appearing from one of the most hostile anti-union shops in the city. No reason was given for the change.

Beer With Kick Is Favored by Gompers Say Brewery Workers

CINCINNATI, Ohio, April 4.—The International Brewery Workers have declared for a modification of the Volstead Act, in a letter to all members of the brewery unions, endorsed by Samuel Gompers. The letter advises friends of organized labor to bring pressure to bear on the Senators in their districts to vote for passage of Senate Bill 1624, which has for its purpose changing the alcoholic content of beverages from the present less than one half of one percent to 2.75 per cent.

PORTO RICAN WORKERS HAVE NAUGHT TO SAY

Secretary Weeks Fears Workers' Rule

(By The Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, April 4.—Porto Rican self-government is henceforth to be conducted on a strictly class basis, the working class being excluded from participation, according to men who have studied the mysterious negotiations centering about Secretary of War Weeks and the Bureau of Insular Affairs since the hearings on the bill providing that the governor of the island shall be elected by the people. The workers, organized in the trade union movement and the Socialist Party, are to be shut out by a coalition of the Unionist and Republican parties in the island.

It appears that when Gov. Townner and the various party leaders concluded their testimony before House and Senate Committees here last month, the hearings were re-opened for the purpose of writing into the bill the definite guaranty that American sovereignty in the island should not be questioned. This was due to the fact that the Unionist party, which represents the ruling reactionary element, had favored the idea of independence at one time. Sen. Barcelo, its leader, had been suspected of wanting to make himself dictator of an independent Porto Rico.

Barcelo is reported to have agreed to drop the American sovereignty issue, if Weeks and the administration here would give guarantees against radical control later on. Governor Townner suggested an amendment to the bill, providing that an elected governor should be removable at will by the president. This was rejected by the Senate committee, whereupon Weeks and Townner arranged with Sen. Tols Soto, Republican leader, that Barcelo and Tols Soto should get together to make a plan for requiring property qualifications for voting on the governorship.

As the question of property qualifications was the fundamental issue upon which the long struggle for Porto Rican self-government was waged, under the Wilson administration—the qualifications being rejected and the working class of the island retaining the ballot—this audacious move by the propertied interests had to be planned carefully and speedily. The delegation went home, and it is reported that the two leaders now contemplate a special session of the legislature in order to modify the governorship bill to the extent suggested by Weeks and his advisors. Assurances were likewise given the sugar, tobacco and other American exploiting companies in the island, that the coalition of the Unionist and Republican forces would safeguard their interests against the coming of the Socialist party would be excluded from any chance of power.

Finally, Weeks told the newspapers that he opposed the grant of an elective governor to Porto Rico because of the danger that a Socialist to that post, since the Socialist strength is steadily increasing. This statement is being used in the island to spur the legislature to appeal to Congress to require special qualifications for voters on the governorship.

Local Farmer-Labor Exchange Marketing Honey and Prunes

The Farmer-Labor Exchange has been successful in marketing to the labor union consumer, farm products from many sections of the country, the DAILY WORKER is informed by C. E. Lowrie, secretary of the organization, which has offices at 166 W. Washington street.

"We have marketed over 12,000 pails of Idaho's honey directly to the Chicago trade unions," Mr. Lowrie said. "We are now marketing Big Idaho prunes at \$4.50 for a 26-pound box delivered anywhere in the city. We are also delivering fresh eggs from the organized farmers of Iowa, which we deliver in case lots of 30 dozen each at market prices. We are also selling union label goods to both farmers and organized labor, especially UMACO coffee, the only union label coffee on the market.

"Every local is asked to select a cooperative committee to extend the work. We are proving that organized labor and organized farmers can co-operate, in spite of the prediction of their common enemy that they could not."

Worker Instantly Killed.

PEORIA, Ill., April 4.—George Wright, aged 35, was instantly killed at the Great Western distillery when he fell 35 feet from a scaffolding onto a pile of brick.

JEWISH TENANTS THREATEN WAR ON LANDLORDS

Organize to Fight the Greedy Rent Hogs

The Jewish tenants, who have been hard hit by the general increase in rents this spring, organized in preparation for an extensive rent strike, at a well attended mass meeting in Division Hall, 2448 Division Street.

The Jewish Mother's League, which has been in existence seven years, is leading the movement of the Jewish tenants, who especially on the North-west Side, are faced with rent increases ranging as high and higher than \$35 per month. Mrs. Blumin, of the League expressed interest in the Negro Tenants League, and told the DAILY WORKER that at the next executive meeting of the Mother's League, steps would be taken to unite all the organizations into one militant body to fight the rent hogs this spring.

Jewish families have had their rents increased outrageously this year, it was stated at the Jewish Charities, 1800 Selden Street. No one has had their rent reduced, and almost every flat has been increased, generally without apparent cause, it was said.

There was some sentiment expressed at the mass meeting for the building of co-operative apartments, but the majority of speakers contended that immediate relief is needed, and building additional houses would not help matters now. It was stated by Mrs. Blumin that the most effective method of reducing rents, and of preventing an unwarranted raise, is a rent strike such as was successfully carried on in Brownsville district, New York last year. Mrs. Blumin advised the tenants to refuse to move and to refuse to pay an advance of rent. If the Jewish tenants take concerted action, she said, the landlords will not dare to evict them.

Unions To Own Bakery.

SYDNEY, N. S. W., Bakery workers in New South Wales who have been on strike as a protest against the attempt by the employers to reintroduce night baking have practically won the strike. Three or four baking establishments are still on night work, and the unionists are now directing the fight against these.

The union is establishing a large union-owned baking establishment at Sydney, known as the Day Baking Cooperative Co., Ltd. It has a capital of \$50,000, all shares being held by employees in the baking trade or other trade unionists.

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Pa(y)triotism Supreme

In every country run and ruined by a class of exploiters, the masses are called upon, with regularly recurring frequency, to defend the "honor" of the nation, to die for the "homes and hearths" they do not own, and to preserve the security of the plunderbund's country. All of these widely advertised sacred duties sum themselves up in patriotism, the all-embracing super-virtue of capitalist government and industry.

Patriotism, the much-heralded employing-class ideal, is in reality the last refuge of our imperialist scoundrels. Patriotism, as preached and practiced by our ruling class, is, in the last resort, a blanket employed by the bosses to cover the countless crimes committed by them against their wage and farm slaves.

Captain Scaife's testimony before the Wheeler committee has turned the scorching light on American patriotism. Those who have yelled most for crushing the German government are now exposed as the tools of the despicable German imperialists. Those who have cried loudest for a powerful aerial armada, second to none in strength and numbers, are shown to be the very ones who despoiled the country of a billion dollars deliberately squandered on useless, faulty airplanes whose victims were the duped American pilots, misled by the fraudulent cries of capitalist patriotism. The people who have worked overtime breeding war-fever against Japan, now turn out to be the skillful manipulators of the Japanese imperialist interests. Those who have yelled loudest for our workers and farmers to rush to Flanders fields and Verdun to die at \$30 a month are precisely the very ones who have coined the fabulous profits out of the last imperialist war to save the world for capitalist democracy. Above all, it is instructive to note that it was under the righteous-mouthed democratic administration of so notorious an apostle of capitalist peace as Woodrow Wilson that these damnable crimes were perpetrated against the working-men and farmers.

There is nothing startling about the above irrefutable truths disclosed by Captain Scaife, a former employee of the Department of Justice, for the third time in the last two years. This is merely more unchallengeable proof of the fact that the laboring masses of the city and country have no interest in and should resist to the bitter end all attempts of their exploiters and government oppressors to draw the country into capitalist imperialist wars, regardless of the sweet words and high-sounding phrases peddled by the prostituted press on such occasions.

Here we have capitalist patriotism with a vengeance. The American workers and farmers have been fooled all too often into fighting the battles of their bosses. The Scaife testimony exposes capitalist patriotism at its highest stage of development. These revelations can only prove a signal to the exploited working masses, to be on guard against ever again being poisoned by this deadly toxin of employing class patriotism and national honor and safety.

Russia To the Fore

An undercurrent of pessimism is making itself felt on the continent of Europe. The hopes aroused by the likelihood of the Dawes commission providing panaceas for Europe's severe economic illness are losing their glamor. In many quarters fear is displacing these hopes—the fear lest the Dawes proposals should strike a snag somewhere in Berlin or Paris. Judging by the preliminary reports concerning the "Hell-an-Maria" recommendations, there is plenty of trouble ahead for the "Good Samaritans" of Yankee imperialism.

In this vast sea of troubles, there is but one isle of safety. And that is the Workers' and Farmers' Republic of Soviet Russia! Slowly but surely the Communist leviathan is rising to its feet, despite countless obstacles and difficulties: Soviet Russia, alone of all the European countries, is on the upward grade today.

Two years ago the Soviet Republic's exports barely touched the fifty million dollar mark. Last year this trade rose to \$110,000,000. The outlook today is for an export of about one-quarter of a billion dollars worth of produce.

Germany, the land that was saved from the "horrors" of Bolshevism by Kautsky and Noske, is now in agony. Its workers and poor farmers are helpless before the death-dealing juggernaut of the Junker-capitalist alliance. Even the vaunted German capitalist productive system has been rocked to its foundation. The German Mark is a reproach. The revival of German industry is contingent upon the rest of the world, especially the United States, allowing the German manufacturers to dump huge piles of commodities produced by woefully

underpaid workers. With Soviet Russia, the black sheep of the imperialist world, the story is exactly the opposite. Soviet currency—the Chervonetz—is one of the very few currencies now standing at a premium over the dollar. The Workers' and Farmers' Republic is steadily raising the pay and living standards of its workers.

It is illuminating as well as interesting to note that every hellish scheme devised against the Communist government has turned out to be a boomerang for the capitalist brigands. The foreign-inspired counter-revolutions, the French and British financed attacks and wars, the economic boycott—all have failed miserably. The allied imperialists thought it was a master stroke of military and financial policy to separate Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania from Soviet Russia. Here the imperialist failure is especially appalling. The severance of these war-devastated regions has saved the Soviet Republic innumerable difficulties of reconstruction. These capitalist-financed puppets of French and British imperialism are today compelled by sheer economic necessity to be the agents of Communist Russia's rehabilitation.

Soviet Russia's remarkable advance to the fore is the best vindication of the correctness of Communist policy, of the efficacy of revolutionary tactics and the wretched bankruptcy of the social-patriotic tactics of betrayal expounded by the Second International and its followers—the world over.

The Tribune and Leningrad

The Tribune, peeved because the Soviet Government has changed the name of Petrograd to Leningrad, sheds bitter tears over the neglect shown by the heartless Communists to bloody Peter, its founder and states that the city population has shrunk, under the Soviet government to 400,000.

The inference of course is that Lenin represented sorry failure and that poor shrunken Leningrad is a fitting monument to his failure and fanaticism.

The Tribune, with its usual disregard for facts, when there is any workingclass angle to the subject, gives the population figure at less than one-third of what it actually is. Instead of Leningrad having a population of 400,000 the latest census shows that it is a city of 1,137,600.

In 1920 its population was 740,000; in 1921, 782,000; in 1922, 1,038,001. There has, therefore, been a steady growth since 1920 despite the fact that in 1918 the seat of government was moved from Leningrad to Moscow taking away thousands of government employees.

The information given above is as accessible to the Tribune as it is to us and the misstatements are consequently the more contemptibly culpable.

"Impartial" Government

"Not a chance for a strike to succeed when there is proper police protection."—John M. Glenn of the Illinois Manufacturers Association.

We offer the above as a text for a dissertation upon the impartial role of democratic government as exemplified in this republic to the gentle gentry who expatiate at length upon the evils of a workingclass dictatorship as a means for abolishing capitalism.

We suggest further that they explain in the light of the above frank utterance what the principal role of the armed forces of the state is in maintaining law and order.

Bolshevist ideas are opposed to the temperament of the Russian people declared an exiled Russian pastor recently. While the Russians are not exactly as crazy for pastors as the South Sea island cannibals who used to eat them for breakfast, the very fact that the reverend gentleman was kicked out of the Soviet Republic by the "temperamental Russians" hardly jibes with his testimony to their religious fervor. But then who expects a clergyman to tell the truth?

Marquis James, a writer in Hearst International suggests the drafting of wealth and labor as a means of war prevention. The wealthy could claim exemption and let their wealth do the fighting! Is that it? We suggest that the embalming of nutty gentlemen like Mr. James might console some of the war victims even tho it might not prevent it.

The installation of a radio set in the Chicago jail on the theory that it will make happy and contented prisoners reminds us of a remark made by a friend of ours on seeing the advertisement of a portable graphophone for campers. "What's the use of going camping," he said, "if you can't get away from the graphophone?"

All labor should be for Small bleats John L. Walker former member of the Socialist Party and one time leader of the Farmer-Labor Party movement. It is rather amusing to watch John shed those heavy, beady, glistening tears over his past sins, that is when he was an honest man.

In the suit over the will of the late Lord Northcliffe dividing an estate worth \$3,750,000 59 lawyers have been retained. A 10 mark note of the Rhine republic will be given to the reader making the correct guess as to who gets the money.

The newspaper advertising which Roosevelt senior received seems to have lost its efficacy so far as Roosevelt junior is concerned perhaps because the son is both less truthful and toothful.

FARMER-LABOR SECRETARY HITS SMALL BACKERS

McCabe Says Ernest Is Purchased Faker

The entire Chicago and Illinois Federation of Labor machine, backed by the Hearst press, is touring the state electioneering for Len Small, for Governor, in the last lap of the primary campaign, and at the same time Thomas G. McCabe, secretary-treasurer of the Cook County branch of the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States reiterates his contempt for the trade unionists who have betrayed independent political action. Downward politicians stated today that Small has a much better chance for nomination and election, and that if he does not ride in, it will be due to the increased activity of trade union officials in his behalf.

Small Advocate Condemned.

William Schoenberg, International organizer of Labor machine, at the last meeting of Local 830, made an impassioned speech in an endeavor to convert the rank and file to vote for Small in the primaries. "If I were in Milwaukee I should vote the Socialist ticket, if I were in Germany or Denmark I should be with the Social Democrats. But here in Illinois, as there is no independent political organization for labor, it is necessary for the workers to deal with Small."

The machinists' organizer was reminded by Andrew Overgaard, Louis Look, president of the district council, Jake Weyder, Philip Kerr, and several other rank and file machinists that there is a Farmer-Labor Party in Illinois as well as in Minnesota, that that trade union officials have been engaged in meretricious labor party in the back in favor of the old parties. They pointed out that Schoenberg seemed to be with the party which he thought had the most prestige, or which he could get the most out of. They declared there was little difference between Small and Eschschmayer, that whoever wins, the politicians and the policemen's club will be used against labor, as they are being used in the garment strike at the present time. They declared their faith in a workers' party which is based on class lines and which is against both of the old parties.

Need Leaders With Backbone.

"I don't see how any self-respecting trade unionist can go into the coming primary fight for any candidate put up by the old parties," said Thomas G. McCabe, last night in an exclusive interview with the DAILY WORKER. "The old party primaries are like a pest house. No decent man can enter them without becoming contaminated—I don't care who he is. I made my statement advising all friends of labor, to stay away from the polls because I wanted to set the Cook County Farmer-Labor Party right by declaring against entanglements with old party politicians."

"It is deplorable that more Farmer-Labor Party members did not have the guts to support me in my stand. I was speaking with the backing of the unanimous decision of the executive board of the party and the constitution of the National Farmer-Labor Party. It is the duty of every man who has any class consciousness or any realization of the position of the workers in society, to stay away from the primaries—both democratic and republican—on April 8."

The Cat's Let Loose.

"It is evident that we need labor leaders with a good deal stiffer backbone and good deal clearer brains if we are going to keep the workers from being sold out to corrupt politicians in the future."

McCabe launched into an attack on the Illinois Farmer-Labor Party, a dual organization headed by Gifford Ernest, not connected with the National Farmer-Labor Party. "The Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois is a 'one-man' organization," said McCabe. "Ernest never carried a union card. He is a non-labor man who has lived off of union men and women of Chicago for the last three years. I am sure that this situation has revealed Ernest's organization in its true light. I believe we have discovered that Ernest is just a figure head, backed by Walker and Olander. I believe we have discovered who is paying Ernest's salary and expenses—the very people who are backing Small. I am now convinced that Ernest entered the July 3rd convention at the instance of these men for the very purpose and the definite intention of disrupting the Farmer-Labor Party of Chicago so that Small and the other old party politicians would not lose support."

"Ernest would not dare to declare in favor of staying away from the primaries because he would endanger the funds necessary to maintain his headquarters, which are supplied by Small men. Walker and Olander have in the past received favors from both the old parties. They have a very unsavory record."

Attempt to Swing Federation.

"Influence is being exerted on members of the Farmer-Labor Party to keep them lined up for Small. It is ridiculous that serious Farmer-Labor Party members should repudiate their Party and declare that they do not owe any allegiance to it. We are having an executive board meeting tonight (Friday night) which will probably have an important bearing on the future of the Farmer-Labor Party of Chicago."

It is being generally rumored in the Federation of Labor Building that at the meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor next Sunday, some of the officials will endeavor to swing the Federation to an endorsement of Small.

POEM WITHOUT RHYME BUT NOT WITHOUT REASON

(By GORDON W. OWENS)

I am The Chicago Tribune, slinger of mud, distorter of news and teller of lies. Manufacturing fake news, creating prejudices and race riots are my specialties.

I will call black white and white black in order to put something over. I am brazen without honor or shame. No sewer is so deep that I will not descend into same to obtain mud to sling at those whom I oppose.

No lie is so vicious that I will not print in order to slander those with whom I disagree. No deed is so vile that I will not resort to in order to accomplish my purpose.

I am The Chicago Tribune, the Annals of the newspaper world, representing journalism in its blackest and yellowest form.

German Living Cost One-Third of What It Was Before War

By LOUIS P. LOCHNER

(Staff Correspondent of Federated Press)
BERLIN, April 4.—The cost of living has gone up about 33 1-3 per cent in Germany as compared with pre-war days. But workers' wages have in most trades been decreased over the prewar period. So that the workers not only find necessities more expensive than in 1913-14, but he has less money to pay for them. The following table shows workers' wages per hour this year and ten years ago:

	1913-14	Jan. 1924
Machinists	68	69.7
Building trades	55	54.2
Metal workers	57	52.9
Cabinet makers	56	53.4
Upholsterers	54	52.6
Printers	50	57.0
Weavers	50	47.1
Tailors	47	52.2

A pennig is worth about one-fourth of a cent. In the above, the highest hourly rate is 15 cents. In only three trades, painters, leather-workers and bookbinders, in Germany has there been a wage increase over 1913-14. But this increase is more than offset by the rise in the cost of living.

After March 31 the building industry will be without any collective agreement. As 75 per cent of the building workers are unemployed, the employers' demands would throw the unions back 30 years. These demands include a 60-hour week (48 in winter, 72 in summer), the loss of holidays, the exclusion of apprentices from the agreement, no restriction on piece work.

W. Va. Labor Faker Had Business Angle On Labor Politics

(Special to The Daily Worker)

WHEELING, W. Va., April 4.—The president of the West Virginia Federation of Labor, Mr. Harris, according to G. W. Otto, of this city, made an unsuccessful attempt to swing the labor vote he controlled "Where they would do the most good," in the recent senatorial campaign.

"Harris informed me," said Mr. Otto, "that he was president of the American Federation of Labor in West Virginia, and that 'he had the votes to deliver and would throw them the way they would do him the most good.' Harris declared that 'Records got a man nothing, and that if Senator Cooper did not deal with him, then another man would be candidate for the senate, and that he—Harris—would swing labor's vote to the other man.' Mr. Otto declares that in spite of the fact that Cooper was the logical candidate for labor's vote, having a good record in working for the 8-hour law and other labor legislation, President Harris declared he would not swing labor's vote to a candidate who gave him nothing in return."

New Zealand Labor Paper Harpoons Our Robber Payrioteers

(By The Federated Press)

WELLINGTON, New Zealand, April 4.—Commenting on the Teapot Dome oil scandal, the New Zealand Worker says: "Gentlemen of the United States cabinet have been caught in a great and grimy oil scandal, but only after they had dipped their tarry fingers deeply into the loot."

"The Daughertys, Bakers, Roosevelts and company in the oil scandal, it must be remembered, were the very creme-de-la-creme of United States patriotism and it was they who organized the drives against socialists and others for their alleged lack of love of country and their corrupting influence in the state."

"A nice bunch, the lot of them! Liar and thieves, whose knaveries almost make the earth stink to heaven. And it is these, and such as they, monopolizing patriotism as they have done for filthy profit, who have vilified and persecuted pacifists and conscientious objectors for hating their beastly greed and bloodshed."

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—Karl Marx.

Special Magazine Supplement THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION

April 5th. 1924. This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

Opposition Camouflaged As Friendship

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN.

THE Communist International has become more sensible and therefore more acceptable—is the historical dictum of J. B. S. Hardman in the March issue of the "American Labor Monthly."

Now, there are many ways in which history can be written. But there is only one good way, the correct and scientific way, whose first prerequisite is: searching after facts. First get your facts and then build your theory. Our estimable J. B. S. Hardman has gone about the matter the other way round. He first invented a theory (a philosophy of history, if you please), and then proceeded to fashion the facts to fit his theory. The result is a historical analysis which "proves" a case—his own case against the Communist International and its American section.

But let us take up his history first. J. B. S. finds that within the Communist International, altho dominated by Lenin and guided by the spirit of Marxian philosophy, "traces of former leaders and thinkers are clearly discernible." A very innocent and harmless statement, indeed. Surely the Communist International is not the beginning of all beginnings, neither is Lenin, nor is Marx for that matter. Into the making of the Communist International have gone the tested and proven ideas and experiences of generations of proletarian struggle. History—any kind of history—means first of all continuity of development. But what does this prove?

Well, J. B. S. Hardman has not made the above statement for nothing. It was done for a purpose, which becomes apparent immediately upon learning that "perhaps . . . (the trace) . . . of Blanqui is one of the most conspicuous influences in the Communist world organization, and it may do to enter into an analysis of the Communist International with a glimpse into this particular social philosophy."

So, there you are. The philosophy of Blanqui was one of the most conspicuous influences in the Communist International. Well, that is not new. Read the literature of the social-patriots and betrayers of the working class the world over and you will find there not merely traces of what J. B. S. says now, but the very same thing verbatim. Our good, old friend J. B. S. is here merely repeating Kautsky, Scheidemann, MacDonald and all the rest of the noble knights of the 2nd International. And if we would care to go a little deeper into history, we could remind our friend J. B. S. that Blanquism was the first big charge against the Bolsheviks preferred by the Menshevik Brotherhood as far back as the year 1903-1904. Lenin, according to his menshevik opponents in the old Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, was the father of the Blanquist Revival in Russia. So that's that.

It is apparent that J. B. S. is not exactly in love with the Communist International. He simply does not like it. He never did. The reason? Well, the Communist International is not precisely what he would like it to be. It does not come up to his conception of taste, yes, "revolutionary" taste, for our imaginative historian of the "American Labor Monthly" is a man of taste and what he terms, culture.

However, this is beside the point. Elaborating further on his charge against the Communist International, J. B. S. Hardman defines Blanquism as a belief in "permanent proletarian insurrection." And after having satisfied himself that this definition offers a suitable weapon of attack, he proceeds to deliver himself of the following "historical truth":

"In the first year or two of its life, the Communist International came very near satisfying the above cited ideal of the Blanquists: it had too much of the tendency to become a permanent organization of proletarian insurrection."

Proletarian insurrection! What a contemptible thing, particularly per-

manent insurrection. How dare they, anyway? And to think of it, that even the Communist International has been catering to it!

It looks very terrible, indeed, but it is not. What J. B. S. Hardman means to say is merely this: that in the first two years of its life the Communist International was basing its policies and strategy on the immediate approach of a direct proletarian struggle for power.

To a very large extent this is so. But what of it? What's wrong about it? It is here, at this point, that J. B. S. has unwittingly touched the very crux of the problem.

Yes, the policy and strategy of the Communist International, not only in the first two years of its existence, but up till this very moment, are based on a revolutionary orientation. The theory of it is that since the beginning of the last war capitalism has entered into the last phase of its development. It is approaching its end. No one can foretell with absolute certainty how soon the end will come. But it is sufficient to know that the entire world, with the possible exception of America, is passing thru a revolutionary crisis.

This theory is based on facts. And if our imaginative historian of the "American Labor Monthly" has any taste at all for economics, we might take up the details of it at some future date. For the present sufficient to say that the broad lines of strategy of the Communist International today as well as three years ago are based on this theory.

This does not mean that every country in the world is on the verge of a revolution. Some countries are closer to it than others. And then again, it is also a matter of tempo, of rate of development. At one time, particularly during 1919-1920, this tempo of revolutionary development was very quick, so much so that the proletarian seizure of power was the question of the day in Central Europe, the Balkans and Italy. During the years of 1920-23 the rate of revolutionary development slackened down, but at the end of 1923 and beginning of 1924 the world situation has become extremely critical again. These changes of tempo necessitate of course, changes in Communist tactics, but the general strategy remains the same.

The inconsistency of some "centrist" minds is really peculiar. In his historical review of the Communist International J. B. S. quotes a passage from a resolution adopted at the 3rd congress of the Communist International. It reads:

"The distinction (between Communists and Social-Democrats—A. B.) is in the fact that Social-Democrats hinder the actual development of the revolution by rendering all possible assistance in the way of restoring the equilibrium of the bourgeois state while the Communists, on the other hand, are trying to take advantage of all means and methods for the purpose of overthrowing and destroying the capitalist government and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat."

J. B. S. quotes this passage approvingly, which would seem to indicate that he agrees with it. Then

why in the name of logic, is he raving against the first two years of the Communist International? Was not the Communist International doing precisely what the quoted passage calls for, that is, taking advantage of all means and methods for the purpose of overthrowing . . . etc.? And the only thing that can be said in addition is that the efforts of the Social-Democrats to hinder the development of the revolution and to restore the equilibrium of the capitalist state were in some instances more successful than the revolutionary efforts of the Communists. But what has Blanqui got to do with it? Well, he has something to do with it. Just read what's coming:

"There followed in rapid succession prescriptions of war measures. Parliamentary action for political (?) purposes was thrown into discard. . . . The trade union movement . . . was to be scrapped . . . new purist unions were to be built . . . the revolution was to be the task of small minorities . . . revolutionary organizations centralized and secret . . . etc., etc."

Horrible, horrible. It looked like a veritable nightmare. But now—now, thank God, things do look different. The Communist International had finally seen the light (emanating from J. B. S.) and has turned from "Romantic Insurrectionism to Revolutionary Realism," all in capital letters.

It may be useless perhaps to refer to a historian of an imaginative turn of mind to facts. What are facts to him and what is he to facts? Nevertheless an attempt must be made to instruct our over-imaginative writer of the "American Labor Monthly" in a few elementary principles.

The doings of the Communist International lie within the age of history, i. e., they are embodied in books, resolutions, theses and statements by responsible and recognized leaders of the Communist International. Why not refer to official documents. Is not that the natural course? Of course, it is, but not for J. B. S. For him and his cause it was so much more convenient to ignore official documents. Why? Because mere reference to them and to the actual history of the Communist International, would instantaneously explode to shreds all the foolish and ridiculous charges brought forth with so much pomp and ceremony.

"The Communist International discarded parliamentary action." Nonsense. Read the proceedings of its congresses. Study the life-history of the various Communist groups and parties even of the year of 1919-1920 and you will see how ridiculous this assertion is.

Of course, there were anti-parliamentarian groups and tendencies in certain sections of the Communist International. In some sections these tendencies were more pronounced than in others. But here is the important thing to be borne in mind, that the Communist International always and consistently opposed these tendencies, trying to educate and convince the workers of the necessity of parliamentary action for revolutionary purposes.

"The trade union movement was to be scrapped and new purist unions formed over night." Nonsense again. The policy of the Communist International, as embodied in its official decisions and literature, was from the very beginning directed towards one end: to win the trades unions over to the revolutionary class struggle.

To be sure, in the practical application of this policy many difficulties were encountered. In a few sections of the Communist International some serious deviations from this policy occurred at one time or another. But here again it must be remembered that the instructive and guiding assistance of the Communist International was always and immediately at hand to correct these mistakes and deviations.

"The revolution was to be the task of small minorities." Here's where Comrade Blanqui's ghost appears again. But that's nothing. It does not frighten any one. Communists can sit with Blanqui even bodily in one room and not become contaminated. The revolutionary strategy of the Communist International is by now so well established in our minds that this talk about "minorities" sounds to us like pre-ancient history. We simply don't take it seriously.

"Revolutionary organizations centralized and secret." Well, well, this is some charge. To which we reply: Centralized? Sure, always, the degree and form of centralization to be determined by the actual conditions of the class struggle. Anything wrong in that? Nothing that we can see, and this is and has been the position of the Communist International.

Secret? No, not always. As conditions demand. But always remember that legality with the Communist International is not a fetish. Nor is illegality for that matter. It is a form of organizational existence which our enemies succeed at times in imposing upon us. When they do, we take it, and proceed further along the road of revolutionary struggle. This is and has been the position of the Communist International.

In concluding his excursion into the history of the Communist International, J. B. S. attempts to take a fling also at the Workers Party of America. In order to make it more effective, we presume, he makes use of a statement published editorially by "Die New Yorker Volkszeitung" to the effect that Comrade Zinoviev was not justified in expecting "desirable surprises in the American Labor Movement." The "Volkszeitung" does not believe that our movement is advancing fast enough to warrant such expectations.

Well, we are compelled to say that Comrade Zinoviev, altho not residing in America and therefore not in possession of first hand knowledge about American affairs, has in this case better and truer gauged the present situation in the American labor movement than has the "Volkszeitung." The Workers Party seems to be in complete agreement with the Communist International and with Comrade Zinoviev that we are perfectly justified in expecting such agreeable surprises in the American labor movement. The recent developments in the movement for a mass farmer-labor party is proof sufficient.

J. B. S. is fully entitled to enjoy whatever little comfort he can derive from the fact that the "Volkszeitung" believes in this case as it does. But this is neither here nor there. His case against the Communist International has not been strengthened at all. He will have to look for other means—more effective than this.

We are sorry to say that the Communist International is today just as "bad" as it was three years ago. The same revolutionary philosophy and strategy. The same determination to fight capitalism to a finish, and even the same youthful bouvarry. Only it has grown—considerably grown—in power and influence. For the rest, the same old boy, and for that we love it.

Watch For Our "May Day Special"

MAY DAY is only a few weeks off. The class-conscious workers all over the world are already preparing to celebrate the day by proletarian solidarity and revolutionary working class power.

The "May Day Special" of THE DAILY WORKER to be dated Saturday, April 26, 1924, will contain a rich and interesting selection of articles and cartoons prepared especially for the occasion.

Watch for "The May Day Special".

A COMRADE

By N. BUCHARIN

LENIN is dead. Never more will we see this powerful forehead, this marvelous head radiating revolutionary power; these gleaming, penetrating, attentive eyes; these energetic and vigorous hands; never more will we see this human statue molded out of one block on the frontier of two epochs of human evolution.

The peak of thought, of feeling, of the will of the proletariat has collapsed. His energy flowed up in invisible currents to wherever the heart of workers beat, to where the conscience of a powerful class is formed, to where the weapon of the battle of liberation is being forged. Across the centuries Lenin has been and will remain unique, without equal.

Lenin—The Leader.

Comrade Lenin was above all a leader, a leader whom nature gives to humanity but once in a century. His is of those who give their name to their epoch. He was one of the greatest organizers of the masses; like a giant, he advanced at the head of a human wave, organizing the innumerable human units into an army of disciplined work, crushing the adversary; he dominated the elements in throwing the light of his powerful mind upon the straight roads as well as upon the obscure alleys where resounds the rhythmic step of workers' columns following the red standards of revolt.

What is it that made of Lenin so inspired an expression of millions of beings?

It was above all his extraordinary understanding of the needs of the masses; he possessed a mysterious sense which enabled him to perceive in the masses the movements, the thoughts which were most imperceptible to all others.

No one could listen as he. He listened with patience and attention to an old soldier, a peasant from some far away place, a worker.

It was enough for him to exchange some words with a humble peasant woman to determine the pulse-beats of the life of the country places; one word caught from a worker during a meeting was enough for him to feel the road taken by workers' thought. He disentangled the complexity of social relations, and before the eyes there arose the picture of the life of millions of beings.

Simplicity in Bearing.

Lenin had a singular talent for talking with people; he got so intimately near them that they confided to him all their doubts, their desires, their questions.

For every one Lenin found a simple language. Hating the enemies of the working class with all the force of his mighty soul, breaking with them brutally, definitely, categorically, Lenin knew how to convince; he dissipated all the doubts

of those men who did the militant work. It is for this reason that Lenin possessed a marvelous attraction; he charmed people; they came to him (not as to a chief, but as to the best friend and comrade, the most experienced, the wisest; and he bound all these people to himself by means of a cement which no force could have loosened.

Never more will there be found in history a leader so much loved by those near him. Everyone had a special feeling for Lenin. It was not for his vigorous intelligence and for his iron fist that he was loved. No, he was simply loved. He bound people to himself by intimate bonds. He was a comrade in the real sense of the word, this great word to which the future belongs. Such will be in the future the relations between people.

The greatest simplicity was the essential trait of his policy; it was not the simplicity of naive people; it was the simplicity of genius. He found simple words, clear slogans, easy solution of the most complicated problem. Nothing was more foreign to him that sinuosity, pose, sophism; he hated all that. He ridiculed this cursed heritage of the old order.

Enemy of Sterile Verbiage.

He knew the value of action and was the most implacable enemy of all sterile verbiage, and at the same time he guided his Party in a masterly way and he swept along all the workers. He was a dictator in the best sense of the word: Absorbing all the aspects of life, he made the experiment with thousands of men in his marvelous spiritual laboratory and directed with his audacious hand as a powerful chief.

He never adapted himself to the backward ones; he never passively noted down events; he knew to march against the current with his whole aroused ardor; "so ought a chief to be."

Comrade Lenin has left us; he has gone away forever. Let us dedicate all our forces to his heir, our Party. May this Party be animated by his spirit, his will, his illimitable daring, his devotion to the working class.

Let us all know how to listen to the mass as did Lenin, our common chief, our great master, our immortal comrade.

Vladimir Ilyitch Ulianov--Nicolai Lenin

By MAX BARTHEL (Berlin).

In the workers' quarters of Prague and Berlin, London, Paris and Copenhagen

A clanging hammer struck crashing:

"Lenin is dead, Comrade Lenin!"

An outcry from the cities of Moscow and Vienna,

Bombay and Cape Town with frantic heart,

A wailing arises from depths of grief:

"Lenin is dead, Comrade Lenin!"

Odessa bends in sorrow to Moscow:

"There lies our father at our feet,

He whom earth's disinherited greet,

Leader of the poor, Comrade Lenin!"

Paris is in tears, Vienna wails,

Rome and Athens are struck down.

The other cities come and ask:

"Comrades, what is it?"—"Lenin died, Lenin!"

Chinese coolies, despised, spat upon,

The yellow stokers of pitching ships,

They shudder and imagine dreadful cracks:

"Lenin is dead, Comrade Lenin!"

And all the slaves of the colonies,

Negroes, Mulattos, and slender Malays,

Arise like lightning and say and cry:

"Lenin is dead, Comrade Lenin!"

Then silent are the cities of Moscow and Berlin,

Rome, Prague and London devoured with bitterness—

Hereupon a voice speaks clearly thru sorrow:

"Lenin is dead? Long live Lenin!"

AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

It would be interesting to read the reports in the Moscow papers of the manner in which election campaigns are waged in Cicero, Illinois. They may say, "Well what can you expect in a capitalist country where the only incentive in public life is not service to the community as in our Soviet Republic but the accumulation of wealth, and as the shortest road to wealth is via the graft route, why graft is the rule and not the exception. When graft begins to thin out the grafters begin to shoot." That is about the size of it.

Oswald Mosely, M. P. son-in-law of Lord Curzon has joined the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain. Mosely married Lady Cynthia Curzon, Lord Curzon's daughter in 1920.

His wife is a generous contributor to the Labor Party's campaign funds. There is a wild rush on the part of the nobility for membership in the Independent Labor Party. The society columns of the London papers are filled with stories of dinners and afternoon teas at which the King and Queen rub shoulders with trade union leaders and "intellectual" members of MacDonald's cabinet. This state of affairs is not universally popular.

Thomas Johnston, editor of the Glasgow "Forward" comments with his customary incisiveness on this tendency to kiss the royal foot that is still massaging the neck of the British working class. Tom Griffith is Labor Treasurer of the Royal Household. Says Johnston, "Tommy, it seems had a great time with the King. 'If you had seen us there, chatting informally with the King, you would have thought this sort of thing had gone on for centuries. A more delightful half-hour I have never spent. The King gripped my hand.'"

"Note it wasn't his throat or his ankle that was gripped, just his hand, the hand of an honest son of toil—but more, there was a feeling of constraint. He obviously looked on us as friends." "Not as snobs, but as friends. Chums in fact." "Oh, brothers," moans Johnston, who is an M. P. himself, "give us air and loosen our collars; for we are like to choke! It may be that certain ceremonials have to be undertaken; but surely there is no excuse for those public exhibitions of snobbery!" No doubt Jim O'neal will make a vicious attack on Thomas Johnston for his undignified criticism of His Majesty's Labor Socialist (yellow) Government.

The Italian Elections Under Fascism

By GIOVANNI GIGLIO.

THE ITALIAN electoral campaign is in full swing. But the opposition parties have not been able to hold a single meeting as yet, not only because of the fact that open air meetings are, as a rule, never allowed by the police, but also because the fascist violence makes it impossible for the candidates of the opposition parties to return to their constituencies, from which they have been driven or compelled to escape. Here are two or three examples:

Signor Salvatore di Fausto, ex-M. P. and a prominent member of the Partito Popolare, sends to his Vicovaro constituency, a small town within the Rome province, his private secretary with instructions to do some canvass work. At the small railway station of the constituency the private secretary is soon noticed on his arrival by three fascists and followed at a close distance on his track. The secretary gets aware that he is being closely followed by the three fascists and therefore tries to elude their pursuit by entering swiftly into a church. But the three fascists notice his move and follow him inside the church. Perceiving the impossibility of getting rid of his spies, the secretary very wisely, as you will see, tries to approach them.

So, with the most fascinating smile on his lips, he ventures to ask the three "gentlemen" to be so kind as to tell him what they wanted. "Your d—d skin," answered in a wild chorus the three "gentlemen." The secretary was shocked. Then, one of the fascists continued: "We know that you are the secretary of Mr. So and So and we also know the purpose of your coming here. Now, the best you can do is to follow us back to the railway station." The secretary attempted to make a timid protest, but he soon repented for having made the attempt.

When he, in company of his three guides, reached the railway station, the fascist requested him to telephone his candidate in Rome. And he was compelled to warn by phone his candidate not to think any more of his constituency. Three days later the candidates went to his constituency and under the protection of strong police forces was able to hold a meeting. But the day after the meeting the fascists had their terrible revenge, by murdering three of the candidate's friends in the constituency.

Here Is Another Example.

The province of Bari gave, in the last election (1921), heaps of votes to the socialist ticket. A few days ago, Signor Vella, a socialist M. P. for Bari, tried to get in touch with

his constituency and, as the local branch of the fascist party had warned him beforehand "not to show his face in the streets of Bari," before leaving Rome for Bari, he wanted to make sure that the government would protect him. The government let him know that instructions had been given providing for his personal security at Bari. But when Signor Vella reached Bari he was received by such a hostile demonstration from the fascists that he deemed it prudent to take shelter inside the prefect's house.

The prefect received him very kindly, but seemed helpless. "How," exclaimed the socialist candidate, "I was given the assurance by the government that I would be enabled to make my electoral campaign here, and you do nothing to prevent the fascists from organizing their attacks upon me." "Sir, answered the prefect, "you are quite right, but you see that I am helpless. These devils . . . you know . . . and I . . . am helpless. Take my friendly advice; go back to Rome, and I'll see that you get safe back to the railway station." And the socialist candidate had to take the prefect's friendly advice and accept also the offer of a strong police escort on his way back to the station.

Fascist Intimidation.

In the face of this kind about one hundred of the late M. P.s have informed their constituencies that they prefer to retire of their own will, and it is expected that the opposition parties may at the eleventh hour abandon completely the arena. They are already wondering what is the use of participating in the election when it is already known beforehand what the result of the election is going to be. The fact is that Mussolini has already ensured for the morrow a meek and obedient parliament. He is already sure that he will have 356 faithful followers in the future "Camera dei Deputati" out of a total of 535 M. P.s.

The result of this election will be to throw the crowds of laborers and farmers outside parliamentary life and deprive them, as a matter of fact, of the universal suffrage. In fact, for them it is almost impossible even the total conquest of the places officially reserved by the electoral law to the minority. If to this is added the preoccupation of the fascist electoral methods, one will get a clear insight of the meaning of this election which is aiming at vanishing with lawfulness and democracy an oligarchical regime resting on a daily and systematic violence. (Election, Sunday, April 6.)

The Growth of Tenancy In Agriculture

By OSCAR FREEDIN
UP to the present agricultural crisis tenancy in the United States was considered as a merely temporary condition of individuals on their way to ownership of farms which they toiled. Growth of tenancy was represented as growth of agriculture on account of new farmers who did not possess sufficient means for immediate purchase of land and therefore were compelled to "work up" thru tenancy.

This explanation of tenancy was generally accepted. It found recognition by leading members of the old socialist party and was one of the corner stones of socialist party "farmers' program." A. M. Simons, chairman for many years of the socialist party special "Commission of Farmers' Question," wrote in accord with all bourgeois economists:

Decline of Owners Relative.

"The increase in tenants is accounted for by the new persons who are going into agriculture, and there is no possible way in which the statistics can be interpreted to show that there is any general movement in the direction of a transformation of farm owners into tenants." ("The American Farmer," edition of 1908, page 114.)

This theory recognized the high prices of land as one of the main obstacles which did not permit people with small savings to become owners of farms as easy as that was possible some decades ago. But the prices of land appeared for adherents of this theory only as some hill on the way of tourists—new farmers. They declared the way to ownership as passable, especially with the help of mortgages.

"The mortgage is an advanced step from tenancy. . . . The bridge between tenancy and ownership is the farm mortgage," says Ivan Wright in his book, "Farm Mortgage Financing."

Such was the representation of the question of tenancy by the pleasing sweet "theory of expansion."

The summaries in statistics of agriculture of United States since 1880, when the first census of tenure was here taken, up to 1910 continued to record increasing numbers of owner farms among still more increased numbers of tenants. Decline of owners up to 1910 was only relative.

This was used by the "theory of expansion" to represent itself as founded on facts. It seemed possible that tenants were "working up" to the positions of owners, that to the increase of owners contributed previous tenants and that increase in tenants was possible to account for "by the new persons who are going into agriculture."

Census 1910-1920.

The last census decade 1910-1920 was very favorable for agriculture in United States. Thru all this decade prices of farm products were on high level. Therefore, according to the current explanation of tenancy, increased number of owners, should be produced on account of tenants.

But exactly the contrary was found by the agricultural census of 1920. The following changes in number of farms by tenure were recorded:

Increase or decrease in number, 1910-1920	
Number of farms	24
Percentage of total	1.1
Number of farms	100
Percentage of total	89

1920	
Number of farms	3,925
Percentage of total	1.1
Number of farms	2,455
Percentage of total	6.4

1910	
Number of farms	3,949
Percentage of total	62.1
Number of farms	58
Percentage of total	97.0

Owners	8,949
Managers	58
Tenants	2,855
TOTAL	6,862

How the appearance of 100,000 new tenants can explain a temporary condition on their way to ownership if at this same time 24,000 owners disappeared?

"Theory of Pauperization."

These facts proved very convincingly that "theory of expansion" in explanation of tenancy was only a romantic invention. Some other "scientific treatment" of the question was requested. Therefore for the explanation of growth of tenancy in the atmosphere of present agricultural calamity very wide circulation is given to assumptions that tenants are produced in pauperization of owner farmers.

This "theory of pauperization" contains all the metaphysical elements of "expansion theory." It considers tenancy as just this same condition of actual farmers somewhere below the standard of farmers owners. . . . The "theory of pauperization" is in reality only re-

holders how much rent their tenants must pay the next year.

Enormous Profits For Landholders.

Agriculture of United States is a nest where enormous profits are hatched for the class of capitalists and landholders. The growth of tenancy is here an expression of progress in separation of land ownership from actual farmers for the sake to separate and to appropriate part of produced values on the land for title holders.

The theory of pauperization wants us to believe that tenancy is here limited only to weak and poor farmers, that it establishes itself in that part of agriculture which is sinking down in an economic mire.

Is this true? Are the collections of land rent limited only by the masses of pauperized farmers? Is it true that tenancy grows only in economically destroyed farms?

If tenancy is an expression of economic weakness, poverty and de-

Why? To explain this to A. M. Simons and to other bourgeois economists and historians is as hard a job as an Irishman in the city of New York had with statistical misconceptions of his devoted wife who expected her third child and was greatly excited just because "the statistics prove that in the city of New York every third child is a Jew."

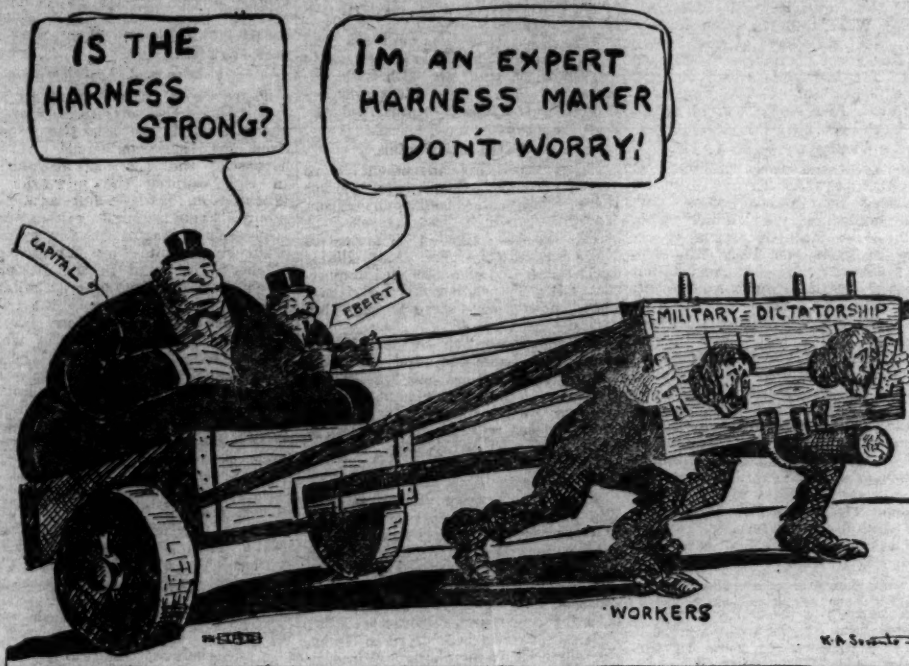
The average acreage of all land per farm was changed during 1910-1920 in the following way:

	1910.	1920.	Increase or decrease in acres per farm
Owners	151.6	162.2	+ 10.6
Managers	924.7	790.8	-133.9
Tenants	96.2	107.9	+ 11.7

Of these were improved in average per farm:

Owners	78.5	80.0	+ 1.5
Managers	211.9	193.0	-18.9
Tenants	66.4	71.6	+ 5.2

GERMAN SOCIALISTS SAVING FATHERLAND



versed "theory of expansion": Instead of representing tenancy as a condition of group of people who come from undefined places with insufficient means and are on a temporary stage to the positions of owners the theory of pauperization represents tenancy as a station of "degraded" owners who are touring in contrary direction. Theory of expansion was built on pleasing conceptions of agricultural prosperity but theory of pauperization is constructed exclusively on conceptions of depression. They are two songs of one petty creed: the first looks like a wedding march for demonstrative procession to husbandry of a new farmer, the second has to serve for funeral purposes.

As every funeral song so the theory of pauperization expresses some hopes about the "life after death." It does not admit that tenancy will stay here permanently. It sticks fast to the belief that the system of independent owners is the American system of agriculture. It finds only one thing wrong: the prices, not the prices of land, but the prices of farm products. The ridiculous talks and demands for higher prices are very convenient for all bourgeois "scientists" because they carry away the attention of people from existing class relations in agriculture. It helps them to hide all the constructed system of exploitation in agriculture behind the big piles of agricultural products. From the mass of products on market nobody can tell under what conditions and in what relations they were produced. A bushel of wheat cannot tell how much rent or mortgage dues, taxes were paid for the land on which the wheat was raised. But the prices of agricultural products can inform land-

struction, then its fate is sealed and final victory and survival of owner farms is assured.

If to find the true position of tenancy and if to give full account of the spreading of tenant relations in the agriculture of United States we have to consider carefully that statistical material which is supplied by the census of 1920.

This census allows us to follow the development of farms by their tenure only in respect to the number of farms, acreage of all land, acreage of improved land and farm property.

Gain By All Tenure Groups.
Considering the acreage of farms—total farm land and improved farm land—we can see that increases of land were gained by all tenure groups of farms. They were in thousands of acres:

	All land in farms.		Improved land in farms.	
	Amount in 1,000 acres	Percent of 1910	Amount in 1,000 acres	Percent of 1910
In all farms	77,085	8.8	24,621	5.1
In owner farms	38,220	6.4	4,257	1.4
In manager farms	398	0.7	897	7.3
In tenant farms	38,467	17.0	19,467	12.5

The shares of farm tenure groups in expansion of agriculture were here unequal. From the increase of all land in farms tenants had very little more than owners, but from the increase of improved land in tenant farms came about four-fifths. Land holdings of owners increased nearly as much as in tenant farms but in expansion of cultivation of farm lands owners succeeded to do less than one-fourth of that what was done by tenants.

Average Acreage.
(This does not give any justification to the "theory of expansion.")

Only farms operated by managers were poorer in land in 1920 than they were in 1910.

Farms operated by owners and tenants increased in size. They both were richer in land in 1920 than they were in 1910 and with this expressed concentration of agriculture. To this tenant farms contributed more than owner farms. In these averages tenant farms still appear smaller than farms operated by owners. This difference is decreased: in total acreage it was 55.4 acres in 1910, but 54.3 in 1920; in improved land, 12.1 acres in 1910, but only 8.4 acres in 1920. This shows that in land holdings owner farms still keep advanced position but in cultivation of land they are nearly on this same level as tenant farms.

Tenant Farms Increasing in Size.

Tenant farms appear small in averages of U. S. mainly on account of cropper and share tenant parcels in the South. In New England, Middle Atlantic and East North Central divisions tenant farms even in averages of the divisions are larger than owner farms. The sizes of farms were here: in 1920:

	Owners.	Tenants.
New England	104.9	107.9
Middle Atlantic	88.7	109.2
E. N. Central	99.8	126.0

(Continued on Page 8.)

CONDITIONS OF HEROISM

By STANLEY BOONE

THE bourgeois portions of France and the United States,—which create teachers, judges and journalists as well as a god in their own image, and which squeeze even out of the Twenty-third Psalm a little propaganda for their own perpetuity,—are strangely afraid of their heroes.

Today after 132 years bourgeois France dares not look Danton in the face.

It is 132 years since August 10, 1792, when the sections of Paris rose to put Louis XVI and his family in the tower of the Temple. And it is from that day that the present bourgeoisie of France date their fortunes, whether millionaires or petty shopkeepers who hope to be millionaires. Yet recently there have appeared three new books by French bourgeois pseudo-historians or biographers which repudiate Danton and the other Eighteenth Century creators of French private property.

These books, only a part of the annual crop, repudiate not merely the methods of the Jacobins but the public and private morals and purposes of the revolutionary creators of the French bourgeois state. To form a parallel in this country it would be necessary to denounce George Washington as an adventurer, the members of the Boston Tea Party as criminals "having no regard for law and order" and the "Sansculottes" of Valley Forge as hoodlums. And in the United States men have been shot for less.

Bourgeois History.

One of these three volumes is "The Dauphin", by George Lenotre, translated by Frederic Lees. Mr. Lees, according to the "Who's Who, 1921", is an English journalist residing in Paris and Italy who has been made an "officier de l'instruction publique" by the French government, in recognition of his efforts in furtherance of the Franco-British entente cordiale.

The two other volumes are "Danton", by Louis Madelin, and "Mazoin Roland", by Mrs. Blashfield.

"To hold in their possession and molest at leisure the King descended from so many kings and the beautiful Queen of the Trianon, what a voluptuous and depraved godsend to men naturally hateful of all beauty and nobility," says Mr. Lenotre in "The Dauphin", referring to the French revolutionists and especially to the Paris members of the Left or Mountain Party.

Of course this volume is concerned primarily with the mystery of the disappearance of the executed king, while he was a prisoner in the Temple tower, but the story is exploited to the disadvantage of those who deprived him of the privileges of tyranny. Mr. Lenotre is the author of six other volumes dealing with similar details of history.

Royal Heroines and Heroes.

Referring to Marie Antoinette, in the chapter entitled "The Temple," Mr. Lenotre continues: "The repeated blows of relentless misfortune were necessary in order that dignity, resignation, greatness of soul should compose for the prisoner of the Temple an imperishable diadem more imposing than the crown she had just lost."

And perhaps the crowning example of Mr. Lenotre's point of view is in the following passage, referring to the captivity of the Dauphin himself: "... we shall recognize perhaps that it was not a simple episode of the great revolutionary drama but that it formed the basis and texture of it, unknown even to those to whom the parts were distributed."

It is unnecessary to quote from Madame Roland's memoirs. The memoirs and the letters are everywhere. She grew; had her home with her futile husband, who rose and fell early as an inconsequential minister pro tem; had her lover, Buzot; had her jealous quarrels with the great revolutionists, for whom her husband should have been chief clerk; and died, a counter-revolutionist. She was a counter-revolutionist not so much against what was accomplished as against only the men in France by whom accomplishment was possible. Of course Madame had a right to objections, which were especially directed at Danton, whom she is reported to have found, "... ferocious in face and probably in heart."

We may regret, in view of her intentions to be of use to her country, without sharing Carlyle's surprisingly naive enthusiasm for her,

that she had to die on the guillotine. But the judgments which she delivered against her contemporaries are not, therefore, sound or vitally interesting, especially since her favorite aversion, Jacques Danton, came nearer than anyone else to being personally as magnificent as the revolution itself. It is because such men live as product of social farces, even today, that revolutions are both probable and worth while. It is also because of the stubborn rancor of persons like Madame Roland that such men have sometimes to die. And it was so useless in her case, for Madame, since she died before Danton, and gained, therefore, only martyrdom when she would have preferred revenge.

The Eve of Action.

Danton spoke at the club of the Cordeliers the evening of August 9. When he finished speaking and went out into the night the great bell of that former Franciscan prayer hall began to toll. The sound was taken up by other bells. It was the tocsin of insurrection, the midnight summons to the insurrectionary commune, an organization which in an inspiration that was largely Danton's, had been forming all that day in the forty-eight sections of Paris.

The City Hall was entered and occupied, the existing administration of Paris walking out with little resistance. The mayor alone was retained by the illegal representatives, then in power.

Doubtful of Danton.

Supporting this movement were armed troops, conspicuous among them being the contingent from Marseilles, which had marched to Paris on its mission unmolested. Non-committally the Marseillaise declined an invitation to accept quarters with the conservative national guard and went instead to the Club of the Cordeliers.

On the tenth, the insurrectionary commune demanded and obtained from the astonished and vacillating Assembly the imprisonment of the king and queen. France, for a while at least, was a Republic, and thereafter the capitalists were free to exploit the proletariat which put them in power.

M. Madelin's study of Danton tells this story and the story of Danton's entire career in great length and in good style. M. Madelin is nearer an appreciation of his subject than either of the other two. He has written a book worth having, for both reference and inspiration. But even M. Madelin is inclined to doubt. He shrinks from wholly embracing this Danton whom he nevertheless admires. There is noticeable in his narrative the commonplace bour-

geois fear that a contemporary proletariat and peasantry may assume from the past that for Danton, as for Washington in the United States, the path to his position of historic importance was the path of unmitigated revolution.

The French bourgeoisie thus do their best to make the heroes of their great revolution venal, insincere, brutal, or merely insignificant. If they do not make specific charges, the bourgeois authors resort to innuendo. Being certain they were not respectable men, the nearest approach, in works of this kind, to an acclamation of the forerunners of the present bourgeois society in France is a confession of an inability to decide whether the Jacobins were even honest men. That is the nearest these cowardly or sly moderns will permit themselves to approach to Danton, Robespierre, Marat, St. Just, Cornot, Desmoulins, several women revolutionists and the rest... the result of these cowardly and malicious tactics being in that case the maledictions elsewhere freely borrowed from the vindictive memoirs and embalmed gossip of Madame Roland, that parlor revolutionary of the Gironde, go as uncontested in popular circles as if nothing at all in addition to them had ever been written.

France and America.

There is a curious contrast between these characterizations of the Jacobins and the distortions practiced on the reputations of the heroes of the American Revolution. In this country the memories of Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and others have been socially useful insofar as they could be exploited by parents and teachers to assist in the discipline of children. In this country children have been growing up in the belief that George Washington became president chiefly because he would not tell a lie to his father. The implication of this myth, which has only recently begun to decline in favor, is that if George Washington had deceived his father in the matter of the cherry tree he would never have gotten very far in life. The myth of the cherry tree, in which little George confessed, "Yes, father, I cut it down with my little hatchet," was fortified by the stories of the crossing of the Delaware and the hardships of Valley Forge. Children must not be allowed to assume that Washington was a molly-coddle even if he did tell his father the truth!

Rebels of Their Day.

And yet the men of the American Revolution, no less than the French revolutionaries, were grimly mili-

tant, rebels who overthrew their king, insofar as King George III had anything to do with their own lives. The Americans had no feudal aristocracy to disperse but they flew instead in the face of an empire tradition. It may be assumed that the American revolutionaries were potentially regicides. Even in revolutionary France the execution of the royal family was not originally a part of the Republican program. The French Republican program was not clarified until three years after the Bastille fell. Altogether the French Revolution was the younger European cousin of our own. On the site of the Bastille the French have dedicated a tablet to Thomas Paine.

Sorrow is not exactly what a man feels in contemplating the cowardice, the hypocrisy, the conceit, the senility and the intellectual torpor which gave rise to the making and perfecting of the myths and accessory falsifications, myths either emasculated or vicious, in the shadow and venom of which the rising generations have to grow.

Useful Tradition.

It has taken less than 150 years in the United States for the increasingly parasitical bourgeoisie to appropriate their ancestral past to their own ends. But in all that time there has been no structural economic or political change in this country to influence the growth of these propaganda myths which we now have. The Civil War was a national upheaval but it was a bourgeois war, anachronistic in its abolition of slavery. And the contrast between the American and French propagandic biographies and historical studies is undoubtedly largely due to the changes which, on the contrary, have taken place in France since the work of the Jacobin revolutionists was done.

After the French Revolution came the Thermidorian reaction, followed by the Directory and the first Empire. And after the first Empire state came the two later Empire states, one under Napoleon I and one under Napoleon III, in addition to the three intervening restorations of the monarchy, under Louis XVIII, Charles X and Louis-Philippe. Each of these periods left its influence on the transmitted accounts of the revolution.

Falsifying the Record.

To escape political imprisonment at the hand of one or another of the succeeding emperors or monarchs, perjures were committed by men and women who had reliable accounts to give, while the official reactionary spokesmen, either in obedience to or in support of a government censorship, poured forth their speeches and their books in defamation of their great predecessors.

Napoleon I saved a part of the fruits of the revolution by organizing France against any permanent return of the Bourbons. Nevertheless, he seemed to find it to his advantage, as the imperial savior, to smother and bury away from the public gaze whatever was glorious in the events out of which, as a brilliant artilleryman, he grew. To the same end there was muckraking into the lives of the men and women of the Jacobin Club, many of whom as a consequence have had to stand or fall, in the estimation of posterity, in proportion to their reputed respective abilities to hold a cup of tea in a refined Girondian or royalist salon.

Betsy Ross, of the United States, is idealized. Whatever her character was in fact, her reputation today has been so manufactured that children may safely be allowed to love her. But Theroigne de Mericourt, a young Parisian Mother Jones of 1789, is held now to have been less patriotic, in the sense of that day, than "immoral." Thus in France the heroes are not preposterously made angels or saints, and claimed by the bourgeoisie as something far less than they really were. They are even more preposterously burned in adjectival effigy, by those who are afraid even of their ghosts, and are not claimed at all.

Tell It to the YOWLS.

First Society Woman—That's my baby that we just passed.

Second S. W.—How could you tell?

First S. W.—I recognized the nurse.

To Potash and Perlmutter

By MICHAEL GOLD.

Aha, Potash and Perlmutter, so we see you again, This time in real life, you cute comical partners in the cloak and suit trade! No more pinochle playing, no more funny Yiddle talk, no more quaint business methods, No more busting up the partnership and making up again ten times a day, No more pathos, love, magazine plotting, Potash and Perlmutter, SHOLEM ALEICHEM, so you are here again!

OY, WEH IS MIR!

Can this be little fat soft-hearted Mawruss Perlmutter, And is this the bluff, crude, good-hearted Abe Potash? And is it a wintry Chicago street, and are the partners angry? Are their quaint Hebrew faces mad with rage as they slug a little Jewish girl with blackjacks, And help the Irish cop step on her face, and twist her arms, and knock her senseless?

Is it Abe who curses her as she is taken off in the patrol wagon? Is it Mawruss, the tender husband and father, who pats the Irish policeman's shoulder and rewards him with a cigar?

Yes, it is you, Potash and Perlmutter.

Yes, you are here again, you have stepped from the stage, washed off your clown's masks, and revealed the wolfish fangs and murderous faces. Yes, it is you speaking the lines of real life, confessing all that your author would not tell us.

Yes, we know you now, Potash and Perlmutter, and exactly how you run your quaint business.

Listen, Potash and Perlmutter, Dealers in Cloaks and Suits, and Sluggers of Girl Workers,

We will remember what we have seen, gentlemen. We will yet redeem the proud race that brought forth Jeremiah, the people's prophet,

Moses, the leader of slaves, Jesus, the rebel, and Marx, Trotsky, Liebknecht and Heinrich Heine.

We will go back two thousand years and find the smooth pebble and sling of David,

The sword of Judas Maccabee, and Bar Cochba's martial wisdom,

We will remember you on that day, we other Jews,

We will remember all our dear blood brothers, Messrs. Potash and Perlmutter!

Education in Soviet Russia - By JULIET STUART POYNTZ

NOWHERE does the transforming effect of the proletarian revolution show itself more clearly in Soviet Russia than in the field of education. The concentration of political power and economic control in the hands of the working class has brought about a complete change in the aims and methods and content of education.

Russian education has advanced with one bound from a pre-feudal condition to the very forefront of modern civilization. The new society of workers and peasants has developed a system and theory of education which uses the latest results of scientific research in every field and applies them without the trammels of commercialism and individualism which have held back bourgeois society. The spiritual revolution in Russia is no less remarkable than the economic and political revolution.

The first task of the young Soviet government when it came to power in October, 1917, was to remodel elementary education according to Socialist ideals and to attack the universal illiteracy which had been left as a legacy by the obscurantist Czarist regime. New schools were founded throughout the country and numberless "first-aid stations," libraries and reading rooms in the villages with teachers for adults, while in the towns cultural and educational clubs and classes for adult workers sprang up everywhere and flourished. This gigantic work of propaganda and enlightenment was undertaken by the Soviet government working in conjunction with the Communist Party, and its fruits are shown in the raising of the cultural level of the whole Russian nation in the short space of seven years and in the face of the enormous difficulties created by the famine and the civil war.

Illiteracy on the Wane.

The progress of the struggle against illiteracy is shown by the figures published in a report on Education in Russia issued by the government in 1922 on the basis of the results of the census of 1920. An interesting comparison is made between the conditions in that year and in 1897, which may be taken as a typical year of the old regime when the educational efforts were practically stationary. The number of men who could read and write increased during this period from 318 per thousand to 409, of women from 181 to 244, and for every thousand of the whole population the number of literates rose from 223 to 319. In 1920 338 of every thousand of the population in the country below the age of 18 were able to read, in the cities, 603. In the next age class up to forty years, 425 per thousand of the country population and 791 of the city population were able to read. Between 40 and 45 the relative figures were 215 and 550 and over 45, 326 and 661. This is a remarkable record of enlightenment for the short period of existence of the Soviet government, but Lenin, who was never willing to let communism rest on its laurels or even pause to congratulate itself in the struggle upward, pointed out the enormous work that still remains to be done in a statement during the 1922 All-Russian Congress of Soviets. "We find as a consequence, as was to be expected that we are still very far from the time when illiteracy will have entirely disappeared in Russia. We see too what a gigantic work we must still carry out in order to build a real structure of culture on the basis of our proletarian conquests."

Care of Children.

While the Socialist program has always included an enlarged responsibility of the state for the children, the consequences of the war and famine in Russia involved the Soviet state more deeply in this problem than would ever have been the case under more normal conditions. In addition to the orphans who were made helpless by the terrific losses of Russia during the great war were added those whose parents perished in the civil struggle and the war against capitalist intervention. Then came the famine, and Soviet Russia had thrown upon her hands millions more of helpless and starving children whose parents had perished of starvation. It was a gigantic undertaking to provide not only education, but mere sustenance for these millions of hungry mouths. There was an enormous strain on the educational machinery of the Soviet Republic, and often the needs of education had to be sacrificed to those of life. Vast

numbers of new institutions had to be brought into existence to care for the children of the state. These had to be provided first, with the necessities of life, food, clothing and shelter, and then with education.

Children's Initiative Developed.

The extraordinary results of these efforts form one of the greatest evidences of the power and desire of a proletarian government to meet a great social vision and a great social crisis. The thousands of children's homes and colonies that have sprung up all over Russia in spite of their poverty and lack of all means for educational work yet show a spirit and tendency in their life and in their loving care of the nation's children which is totally foreign to the capitalist states with all their means. In visiting these homes one feels that man does not live by bread alone nor does education flourish by money alone, but by the great social vision and passion for human brotherhood that animates all the educational activities of the Soviet government. The children of Soviet Russia are different creatures from the poor warped products of capitalist civilization that are turned out by our schools. Discipline in the American sense of the word is unknown in the Russian children's homes and schools. When a foreign visitor enters the room the children cry out spontaneously and enthusiastically, "Sdrasvuyte, Tovarish!" and

loyalty to society and not to the family. "You can't change human nature," said the conservatives. But human nature has been changed, and changed fundamentally in Soviet Russia.

Aims of Education—Social.

The elementary schools of Soviet Russia have created a revolution in the field of pedagogical theory which will undoubtedly transform the entire method and content of education in other countries, once the barriers of capitalist control have broken down. The aim of education in Russia is social and not individual. Education is given not to enable some individual to climb above his fellows or to enjoy class privileges and perquisites but to enable him to contribute to the community. Much old academic rubbish that clutters the curriculum of capitalist countries is brushed aside, and education returns to the vital facts and needs of life. These are first of all economic, and the whole life of the Russian school centers around the problem of creating a new and more intelligent and social-minded society of workers and peasants in the next generation. The children are trained in the shop side by side with their comrade workman who imparts his technical knowledge to them and on the farm with the brother peasant who works with them on the land. Some children's colonies on the land support themselves ex-

thorously, and is always related to their own problems of life.

Less Talking, More Doing—Motto.

The ideas of the greatest pedagogical thinkers, Spencer, Dewey, etc., have contributed to the educational theory of the Russian schools as well as Marxist theory and the practical needs of the peasants and workers' society. Arithmetic is not taught as the science of reckoning commercial profit and loss as in our capitalist civilization, but as social statistics. Children of seven and eight work out beautiful colored statistical diagrams illustrating their own life, their age, sex, parentage, social condition, the provisioning and economic problems of their own school, then of their town or community, and then of the Soviet society.

Less talking and more doing might be the motto of the Russian school. From their earliest infancy the children express their reactions to what they see or learn or experience not only thru discussion and writing but thru drawing, painting, modelling, dancing and music. The effort is always to develop the creative instincts of the child. And the results are often astonishing. Painting and drawing from young children that would do honor to an adult art school in western Europe. The children paint their own scenery for their school plays—when paints are to be had. They write their own plays and act them. They compose their own songs and dances and recitations. They make their own clothes. They make their own carvings, toys and decorations for their Christmas trees. They paint the pictures that adorn the walls of their children's homes, they ornament the furniture and embroider the linen and beautify everything around them until they make a poverty-stricken home look like a little bower.

Compulsory Decrease in Expenditures.

The new economic policy and the effort to balance the budget of Soviet Russia has caused entrenchment in all state expenditures, and the educational budget has been a heavy sufferer. It has as little as possible to work out the ideals of pure communism in the field of education then elsewhere. The number of elementary schools that increased from 63,743 in 1918, to 94,205 in 1920, has been reduced again under the pressure of economic necessity, and the support of schools and children's homes thrown to a great extent upon local authorities and voluntary organizations, the trade unions, the peasants' unions, the Red Army, etc. But the Soviet government and the Communist Party have their clear end in view and regard the present retrenchment as only transitory. With Russia's economic reconstruction and the improvement of industry and agriculture will come a cultural revival and a development of education that will mark a new spiritual era in human development.

Hymn (St. Catherine) The Faith That Is to Be

By G. W. HALE

Midst changing systems, fading creeds,
That fail us in our deepest needs
Our struggling souls refuse to rest
And call our present good the best;
Our eyes in rapture seem to see
A mightier faith that is to be.

Our fathers' faith we do not slight,
'Twas Truth's grey dawn across the night,
Yet on this world we trust will shine
Some larger beams of light divine;
As one by one the shadows flee,
We seek the faith that is to be.

A faith where truth shall not be feared,
But to it temples shall be reared.
Where beauty unashamed shall dwell
With goodness, and its secrets tell;
Where love shall reign supreme, and we
Shall live the faith that is to be.

run forward to meet and converse with the stranger who will have something to tell them about the comrades of other countries. I remember a beautiful scene in a home for small children in Ekaterinburg where the children were preparing a play to celebrate the birthday of the children's poet, Nekrasov. I came in with the local official of the Narkompros or Department of Education. The children ran forward with cries of joy and seized our hands and kissed them without the slightest trace of bashfulness or self-consciousness. These were comrades from somewhere in the world to them and that was enough to make them take us to their hearts. Many thoughts ran thru one's mind at this and countless similar experiences. In the spirit of the new collective homes for children in Russia a new race is being bred, a new type of human being who is adapted to the new social system, who owes his existence and his

tiety from the product of their own toil, and are robust, self-reliant, members of society at an age when the children of capitalist countries are still groping and dependent. These children's colonies will in many cases grow into adult co-operative peasant communities without the children being aware of the transition from childhood to maturity, for they are self-governing responsible groups from their earliest age.

Curriculum of Russian School.

The system of self-government is universal in the children's homes and schools and colonies in Russia. The councils of the children have great responsibilities and rights which cover the whole field of their life and activities from the problem of securing food and support to the working out of their own curriculum and the choosing and dismissal of their teachers. A child in the Russian notion of education is a smaller and younger member of the human species, but a complete human being with his own personality and rights.

The curriculum of the Russian school is vastly interesting. Such subjects as economics, sociology and anthropology, instead of being reserved for the university are taught to the youngest children. In many a school you will find beautiful models of the life of man in all its stages from the most primitive down thru the feudal society until today. These models are beautifully and artistically made of clay, wood, sand, moss, rags, feathers—anything, and the making of them must be of enormous value in developing the artistic abilities of the students as well as developing their historical and social imagination. Little tots of four and five in the kindergarten scrawl little pictures of life in the hunting and fishing stages of culture, and from that age on their economic education becomes more and more intensive and



The Poor Fish Says—Communists are always howling that there is no longer an opportunity to make money in America. Nonsense? Why, Harry Thaw is crazy and yet he's earning thousands daily in a bug house.

DINNER PAIL EPICS

By BILL LLOYD

I see that while we guys are toiling, the politicians' pot is boiling. For now we have the open season when folks is sed to use their reason in voting to pick candidates to make up the November slates.

With his old party on the rack, our Cal is out for a comeback. He thinks the people otto see the worth of mediocrity. And Hiram Johnson, he is fighting to set his rod to catch the lightning. Then son-in-law, Bill McAdoo, has got his lightning rod out, too, and having quit Doehny's pay he hopes to win election day. Al Smith, who sez that he is wet, won't get bootleggers' votes, you bet, but his campaign will likely hear from those who like light wine and beer.

When oil is sed, one thing is sure. We needn't look for any cure from either Rep. or Democrat; the recent scandal's split the fat. It's sure Big Biz is out to rule, tho they don't teach such things in school. When they can't win by waving flags, they pack some money in their bags, and then same candidate is sought who can be leased for four years or bought.

WE WANT A CLASS CANDIDATE.

In the coming presidential elections we want a candidate of a clean Farmer-Labor Party. Hence, Boost the Convention of June 17th!

Objective Conditions and Shop Nuclei

By HARRY GANNES

EXPERIENCE and history prove that the strength of a Communist organization lies in the predominance of the proletarian members within its ranks. There is abundant proof of this. Has not the Communist International time and again rebuked the weakness of the Italian and Bulgarian Communist Parties because of the preponderance of peasant elements? Zinoviev has more than once indicated the advantage that the German Communist party has in the vast number of proletarians within its ranks, even tho that party has been criticized for not developing its shop nuclei activities more rapidly.

The Grave Digger of Capitalism.

But this is no argument against the most intensive campaigns and activities among the peasant masses—in the United States the oppressed tenant and dirt farmers. Comrade John Pepper and others have shown the necessity of the work of the American party in the agrarian sections of the country. In a country that is half industrial and half agrarian in its population, facts realities, there is no doubt where the activities of the Communists must be directed. Yet the work among the industrial workers must predominate.

The grave diggers of capitalist society will be the proletariat, the unskilled workers created by the capitalist mode of production. Marx did not quibble about that. It is true that the peasantry and the aristocracy of labor (the skilled workers) might act as the pill bearers and the undertaker, but the most important function belongs to the lowest stratum of exploited workers, the proletariat, those who in the United States work in the basic industries.

This is nothing new for the Communist movement in the United States. For more than once has the slogan been issued, to the masses of workers! But the party has been laboring under handicaps imposed by an antiquated organizational structure that has prevented it from reaching the very section of the working class that must be relied upon as the motive force of revolution. Why? Because of the inherent development of capitalist society, the massing of large numbers of workers in industry and the disfranchisement of a vast number of these workers. Then, too, those unorganized workers have been forbidden the right and the means to organize in defensive economic organizations, trade and industrial unions.

Shop Nuclei Necessary.

John Edwards, in his article on "Shop Nuclei—The Only Road to a Mass Communist Organization," shows how the present structure of the party is incapable of enlisting the great number of unorganized workers and why the major part of our work reaches those organized into trade unions, for the most part the better skilled workers.

It would be well to direct our attentions to objective conditions in the United States so far as shop nuclei or organization is concerned. Heretofore, discussion has been on the conditions within the party; a necessary discussion.

The problem of shop nuclei deals mainly with the basic industries and the factories. There are according to the latest census some 12,000,000 factory workers (men and women engaged in manufacture). There is a total of 290,105 manufacturing establishments, divided as follows, outside of 179,676, which employ very few or no workers:

No. of Workers	No. of Factories
6 to 20 workers.....	56,208
21 to 50 workers.....	25,379
51 to 100 workers.....	12,405
101 to 250 workers.....	10,068
251 to 500 workers.....	3,599
501 to 1,000 workers.....	1,749
1,000 to 50,000 workers	
or more workers.....	1,021

The number of factories employing over 1,000 workers has nearly double since 1914. Except Germany, there is not a capitalist country in the world that has so propitious a background in industry for the formation of shop nuclei as the United States. It is conceded that there are difficulties in the matter of foreign born workers. But

that will be taken up later.

The industrial development of the United States shows that the basic industries have been the magnets for the concentration of workers within particular sections of the country. However, politically, the workers have been divorced from their natural industrial concentration, and as a result some have lost

in the basic industries such as mining, iron and steel, meat packing and clothing, 60 to 70 per cent are foreign born. It can be said unequivocally that the protection of the foreign born workers in the United States is a problem of more than immediate importance for the Communist movement. How can our party best meet this duty?

What does our present form of organization mean to the foreign born comrades within our ranks and those who are not in our organization but who are miserably exploited on the job?

The foreign born section of our population cast 11 per cent of the total vote in the last national election, which means 89 per cent of them are disfranchised. Any organization based, as the Communist International says, on the "organization of the voters" is prevented from carrying on real Communist activities. And the foreign born workers suffer mostly thru the ineffectiveness of our present organization structure. Our foreign born comrades, therefore, should be in the front rank in the demand for a sensible, yet rapid, organization and reorganization of the party on the basis outlined by the Communist International—the shop nuclei.

Unimpaired Language Groups.

Would the shop nuclei impair the necessary work among the language groups of workers within the industries? An examination of facts prompts an emphatic "No!" In the needle trades, for example, we find a preponderance of Jewish and Italian workers. The change would in no way interfere with better and more effective Communist language work within the needle industries. We find Poles and Negroes almost exclusively employed in the Chicago stock yards. How will this interfere with the aims of our present federations? Will it not be rather the best means of advancing these Communist aims? The steel industries and the mining camps are but a few other examples that carry out this idea.

The best interests of the foreign born workers can be protected on the job where they are bitterly exploited and where they completely lack direction and organization. It is for the Communists to give these real proletarians leadership; and that can best be done in a Communist manner by transforming our basic organization unit to the shop.

Summing up: We find that objective conditions in the United States offer monumental arguments for the shop nuclei organization of our party. How shall that be done? What shall be our first step? That requires a special article. First of all we must recognize our problem, accept and understand the principle. The working out of the details is not such a hard matter. If our comrades persist in offering objections to the shop nuclei organization no plan will work, for that plan will be directed to comrades who are not yet convinced of the feasibility and the superiority of the type of organization that made the Russian revolution successful and will be more than instrumental in assuring the permanency of the coming German revolution.

"Charlie" Likes Movies Better

READ THIS; LEARN MORE AND TALK LESS!



sight of the shop as the basis for agitation.

Party Must Be Mobile Force.

A Communist Party must be a mobile force. It must be quick to act in emergencies; and its campaigns, based on the immediate as well as the ultimate needs of the working class, must be pushed with the speed that is commensurate with the change and crises of the daily struggle. History has developed that type of organization as a result of:

1. The industrial development of the capitalist system and the tendency to employ more and more workers under one roof or in one group, and,

2. The political formations assumed by working class power, typified by the shop councils (soviets). It is impossible to conceive of the ultimate success of the Communist program, or even of lasting continued favor with the masses of the workers in the matters of every day campaigns, without some form of mass political organization with its basic units in the shop.

A Communist party based on the shop nuclei principle particularly has the advantage, among other things, of the facility with which decisions from the central executive committee are passed down to the basic organizational units which are in constant touch with the masses of workers—limited only by the size of our organization. Decisions and instructions, in this way, are transmitted with effect.

Within the American party we face a big question when discussing shop nuclei—our language federations. But when the shop nuclei question is understood in relation to the subjective conditions of the party and the objective facts of our industrial and political situation, we find that the formation of shop nuclei is the greatest help for the attainment of the ends sought by our federations in harmony with the central executive committee of the party.

Foreign Workers Predominate.

Let us see how the facts bear out the above statements. Fifty-eight per cent of the total number of workers are employed in American industries. Of the workers employ-

In its shop nuclei resolution, just adopted, the Communist International rightly states:

"Under the reformist policy of the social-democratic parties, which endeavored to exert an influence upon the bourgeois government by means of the ballot box, it was natural that attention should be chiefly directed to the organization of voters. The organization, therefore, was based upon electoral divisions and residential areas."

So far as organization structure is concerned our present party is a whole-cloth inheritance of the socialist party. Our only difference is district organizations based on geographical territorial divisions, which is a weak concession to the needed complete reorganization and organization on the shop nuclei basis.

Hunger-Revolt

By OSKAR KANEHL

You risk to eat
when we are hungry?
Panes are clinking on the pavement,
Rashly pushed in by hunger-fists.
Cases are breaking. Boxes are flying.
Barrels are rolling. Bottles are flowing.
Bags are shedding.
Hunger-hands are raking in abundance.
Unfeeling fingers are grasping for things,
which else are only cautiously served
by silver-utensils.
Are throwing valuables pell-mell.
Are giving away. Are wasting. Are flinging away,
what doesn't go into the hunger-mouths.
Are eating with eyes, hands and feet.
Only once without fear and without resistance.
Only for this once nothing to lack.
Only once to taste, once to bite.
Only once to take away,
what isn't allowed to belong for us.
And why not?
And why not? We are hungry.
Only once to ourselves fill!
In the burgher-throat the rich morsel sticks fast.
Before his window the revolt is breaking.
In the police—presidency assemblies
the guardian of republic.
From street away! (Away from street!)

Who hungers—will be shot!

Translated By Paul Acol.

Youth Views

By HARRY GANNES

IS COMMUNIST THEORY IMPORTANT?

OME of the younger comrades think Communist theory unimportant. Lately the idea has grown up that a knowledge of tactics and current events is enough. This is a sad mistake.

Trotsky has said we shall conquer thru our knowledge of Communist theory. Theory is our guide to correct action.

On what is our theory based? First, on the works of Marx, Engels and the host of other proletarian writers who have understood and accepted the materialist conception of history, the class struggle, and the Marxian theory of surplus value; secondly, on the experience of the working class struggles and the recent development of capitalism, mainly as pointed out by Lenin in his works.

Importance of Study.

The past five years have been replete with rapid revolutionary developments. The youth of today have been maturing in an age of strife and struggle with but little time for reflection and less for study. Especially is this true of those in the revolutionary workers' movement. The result is that many entirely overlook the need for detailed study of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Karl Radek had amply pointed out the weaknesses of the European revolutionary youth in the matter of solid theoretical education. Most of the organized youth, he pointed out, were brought up at a time when Europe was in the throes of a bitter world war, followed by repeated revolutions and continuing economic and political crises.

The great theoreticians of the social-democrats and the present Communist parties were developed during the so-called periods of peaceful development of capitalism, as for example, Lenin, Zetkin, Luxemburg, Trotsky, Bukharin, Thalheimer, for the Communists; Bernstein and Kautsky, for the socialist traitors.

The life of every one of the leaders of the Communist International is the life of an avid student of Marxian theory and the development of capitalism, economically and politically. The danger in those times of action is for the youth to overlook such study.

Participation Not Sufficient.

It is true that the mass of workers, young and old, will learn thru active participation in the class struggle; but we cannot forget the fact that the backbone and brains of the Russian Communist Party is still the old Bolsheviks whose theoretical education at no time was neglected even during periods of intensive action.

A Communist party and a Young Communist League without a complete leadership versed in the theories of Marxism and Leninism is worse than a ship without a rudder; for the driving force of our enemies, the capitalists is more deadly than the rigors of the sea and of the wind.

For information concerning the Young Workers League of America, address Y. W. L., 1009 N. State St., Chicago, Ill.

ON JUNE 17 IN THE TWIN CITIES.

It is then and there the Farmer-Labor movement of the United States will mobilize its forces for a political struggle against Teapot Dome Capitalism. Boost the convention of June 17th.



The Adventure of Johnny Smart Or A Lad in the Russian Revolution

Johnny Smart was a carpenter's apprentice. He was a husky young boy, with a sharp prominent nose, and lively blue eyes. He had the reputation of being the greatest mischief maker of all the boys in the factory.

Today Johnny was excited. It seemed as if the fear which hovered over the city, this foreboding of something evil and inevitable, had crept into Johnny's blood.

Since early morning, streams of people were leaving the city; an unexpected advance of White Guards had forced the Reds to abandon the city. Long trains of wagons, piled up high with furniture, boxes of all sorts, with food and ammunition, passed continuously thru the streets. Anxious drivers, their faces covered with sweat, kept whipping the horses to a faster pace. Here and there could be seen a Red Guard hurrying on some duty. Wounded were already being carried into the city; the sick and crippled dragged themselves painfully after the departing wagons. The street was a confused medley of rattling wheels and groaning wounded. Here and there a driver lost his head and began cursing his horse and his carriage and pitilessly beat his poor animal.

Volunteers For Secret Work.

Johnny had wanted to leave the city together with the other workers of the factory, but their leaders had ordered him to remain.

"Hey, where are you going, you young scamp? Don't you think we've got enough without being bothered with you. You don't have to be scared of the Whites. They won't hurt you. So you remain here."

Johnny saw that neither tears nor prayers would help. So he ran to the headquarters of the Young Communist League. He was a member of one of the Communist Children's Groups.

But there also they were too busy to be able to help him. The committee was standing in the corner, discussing excitedly and in low voices. Three young men were piling all the documents on the table, and burning them as fast as they could in the glowing stove.

"We can't trust the tobacco girls for our secret service work yet," Gregory was saying.

Johnny picked up his ears. Secret service work! He had already heard a great deal about it. It means something terrible and mysterious; one dared not sleep at home, and the White Guards burned the houses and hung the workers.

His older brother was caught in this work, and was now lying in prison—maybe they would let him try his hand at it.

"Comrades, can't I do something, too?" Gregory looked at the little figure before him. "What, then," he asked.

"Can't I do secret work?"

The Whites Attack Village.

The young people burst into laughter.

"You! You're much too young. Why, you're still at your mother's apron strings."

Johnny felt hurt. He turned his back upon them sadly, and sat down on the window sill, pressed his face against the pane and fell into suffering silence.

In the street, the tumult had somewhat decreased; the crowd had grown less dense. There were fewer wagons. From the station little groups of Red Guards kept coming all the time, and a mounted officer would now and then rush down the street, with sparks flying from his horse's hoofs.

Beyond the city, the Reds and Whites were fighting. He could distinctly hear the guns and the loud thunder of the cannon. Now the cars passed by, followed by a few soldiers.

Suddenly, the first shell exploded in the street. The troops quickened their pace. Then a second shot. Now, the commands could be heard quite clearly. From many windows faces peeped in the direction from which they expected the Whites to be coming. On the outskirts of the city a bright flame sprang up suddenly.

"A shell must have hit its goal," thought Johnny, and he directed his entire attention to the fire.

After the Hand Grenades.

All the papers have been burned, and now the committee was preparing to leave the room, but Gregory stopped suddenly. He seemed to have remembered something.

"Boys! The hand grenades! We've forgotten to remove the hand grenades."

"Which hand grenades?"

"Those which were in Frederick's house."

"Well, it's too late now," Mark said despondently. "Frederick has left the city; and we can't take the chance of going to his house. Every one knows that he was a Communist and we would surely be recognized. The capitalist soldiers are already searching the streets for our comrades."

What could they do? The hand grenades had to be gotten at any price.

"Comrades, let me go. I am small and no one will think of stopping me. And I will bring you the hand grenades."

Gregory and Mark looked at little Johnny. "Well, all right. They are in Kronstad Street. The number, 27, first floor, to the right, under the bed. You bring them here." (To Be Continued Monday)

Proletarian Song.

I'm a worker—and you're a worker—We have our life—'tis without delight,

For every day the old world about us Seems nothing but changing black and white.

And thru the monotony of our day We've work and worry—no more have we.

The weeks come on and are gone away,

We seek for something but naught we see.

The years go by, and youth goes too, We have suffered want and have naught to show.

I'm a worker and you're a worker—We are building the Future, 'tis all we know.

Translated from the German of Julius Zeffass by Henry Roenne.

OUR BOOK REVIEWS

Yeave Ho! My lads—For a Sailor's Life.

Reviewing "The Sailor's Union of the Pacific," by Paul S. Taylor, Ph. D. Ronald Press Co., N. Y., \$2.50.

To land lubbers, a sailor is a strange being. If we are romantic, the sailor becomes the embodiment of the spirit of adventure, romance and freedom. There is about him the tang of exotic lands, the fulfillment of many unfulfilled desires. If, however, we be prosaic, then the sailor is a drunken, good-for-nothing creature often seen hanging around wharves or lounging in dark hallways with some girl he has been fortunate enough to pick up. Strange, isn't it, how our conceptions of certain legitimate occupations have developed?

Seamanship is an occupation steeped in tradition, and seamen have for years been the sufferers of great economic and social oppression by virtue of that tradition. Dr. Taylor has presented to us in an exceedingly readable form a "dramatic account of the rise of American seamen to freedom and self-respect." It is the story of a trade union in what would seem to be a distinctly unorganized industry, and the fight for a code of laws that would guarantee to the sailor, who for years has been bonded to his vessel in the name of ship discipline, the minimum of economic freedom—guaranteed to every worker—the right to leave his job.

"At best the old-time sailor's lot was a hard one. Sleeping and eating in a little black, ill-ventilated, poorly lighted, unfurnished hole called a forecabin, with a hard board bunk and a bit of straw or a cheap mattress, if he provided it himself, he lived a life of great physical discomfort." This sort of physical life at sea coupled with an unsavory life ashore at the mercy of "crimps" and scavenger boarding houses, and ending in being shanghaied back to the vessels—to start the vicious circle all over again—has been only one phase of the life of the sailor. The lack of economic freedom, the lack of protective legislation for the hazards of the industry, and the social stigma attached to the job—were all forces which finally made for organization on the part of the seamen of the Pacific Coast.

The recitation of the repeated attempts to organize, the destruction of these organizations by ship owners, crimps and even other unions in the course of jurisdictional disputes, reveal the natural process out of which trade consciousness develops.

The Sailor's Union of the Pacific came into being, however, and began its fight for the seamen of the Coast.

The culmination of the struggle for legal rights came only in March, 1915, with the passage of the Seamen's Act, which abolishes arrest and imprisonment as a penalty for desertion, created provisions for decent living conditions on the boat, and provided for some definite safety measures.—T. W.

JOIN THE JUNIOR SECTION

For Information
1009 N. State St., Rm. 214
Chicago, Ill.

KICK 'EM OUT!

That's what you should do to the servants of the bankers and oil magnates in President's Cal's cabinet. Show them the way out.

UNCLE WIGGLY'S TRICKS



A LAUGH FOR THE CHILDREN



The Growth of Tenancy In Agriculture

(Continued from Page 3.)
The statistics of acreage prove the contrary what is assumed by the "pauperization theory": Tenant farms are growing not only in numbers but in sizes as well they exceed the growth of owner farms and in considerable parts of the country they are bigger than owner farms.

Let us look what changes have been made in distribution of farm property among the tenure groups: The total farm property estimated in 1910 in 41 billion dollars and in 1920 in 78 billion dollars was distributed as follows, in per cents of the totals of each year:

	1910	1920
In owner farms	65.1	61.1
In manager farms	4.1	4.0
In tenant farms	30.8	34.9

The tenant farms appear here as the only group where the increased farm property was accumulated relatively more at the end of the decade than that was at the beginning. Owner farms and farms operated by managers had smaller part of farm property in 1920 than they had in 1910.

Property Subdivision.

The total property in its subdivisions was distributed among the main groups of farms (in per cents of each year's total amount) as follows:

	In owner farms	In manager farms	In tenant farms
Value of land	1910, 62.5 1920, 68.4	1910, 4.0 1920, 4.0	1910, 33.2 1920, 27.6
Value of buildings	1910, 72.1 1920, 68.6	1910, 4.0 1920, 4.0	1910, 24.1 1920, 27.4
Machinery and implements	1910, 71.1 1920, 68.1	1910, 3.4 1920, 4.5	1910, 25.4 1920, 29.0
Value of live stock	1910, 69.1 1920, 68.1	1910, 4.1 1920, 4.5	1910, 26.8 1920, 29.3

Owner farms still had in 1920 more "land values" and held more of the values of buildings, machinery and live stock than both the other groups. But comparing the figures for owner farms of 1920 with those of 1910 we have to note that their relative economic force is vanishing: in "value" of land and capital—buildings, machinery and live stock—they had smaller share in 1920 than they had in 1910.

The strength of tenant farms increased. Their share in "value of land" and in capital was considerably bigger at the end of the decade.

Tenant Farms Advance First.

Very small changes we can find in the position of manager farms. They had turned more to live stock raising. It is impossible to find any confirmation of the assertions of pauperization theory in the census statistics. Tenant farms do not appear as pauperized, weak, economically exhausted establishments. In intensification of agriculture tenant farms are advanced before owner farms. Average values per acre of live stock, farm implements and machinery are higher and had increased more in tenant farms than in owner farms.

The 1920 census report does not give any direct information about changes in types of farms by tenure. We cannot trace directly in which groups of farms simple commercial farming is developed more in capitalistic farming with hired labor. But the statistics of farm property indicate that in this respect exactly tenant farms are breaking the way: intensification of agriculture, in which tenant farms are the leaders, demands more labor than extensive farming of owners. When the backward progressives

or liberals denounce tenancy then they always speak not about one but about two things: tenants and hired labor. Thus the "Report of the Commission on Land Colonization and Rural Credits of the State of California," of Nov. 29, 1916, complains:

Great properties, owned by non-residents are being cultivated by tenants or by nomadic and unsatisfactory hired labor" (page 7, Black mine, O. P.).

This same danger was noted by the "Report of the Public Land's Commission, 1905," which announced:

"There exists and is spreading in the West a tenant of hired labor system (black mine, O. P.), which not only represents a relatively low industrial development, but whose further extension carries with it a THE GROWTH OF TENANCY in most serious threat. Politically, socially and economically this system is indefensible." Page xxiv.)

Yes, tenants and hired labor come together and can remain together in the "most serious threat."

Differences in Systems.

The characterization of new tenant farms by the above report in substance as capitalistic farms, the definition of the new tenancy as a tenant or hired labor system, it seems, is correct. This feature of the tenant farms is vital and deserves attention.

Tenancy, as established at present in the United States, is created by different forces and in different conditions than tenant systems came into existence in other countries and in this same United States in previous times not so very long ago. Its development does not depend from individually accumulated capital of tenants, as that was the case for a very long time with tenancy

in England and in other countries. In considerable extent tenancy is created here directly by the initiative and means of financial capital. Bonded tenants, hired tenants, are here among the different tenant groups.

Financial capital develops in tenancy not only a system but a new mechanism of exploitation.

The historical duty of the new tenants before their creator, financial capital, is to produce more values and more rent and profits than independent farmers were able to do even when their farms were in full order and they were not economically weak and pauperized. Together with the tenants are doing a work on which account the "economics of transition period" will be here simpler.

Financial Capital—Its Influence.

Pauperization of farmers owners do not stay in direct connections with establishment of tenancy. Direct transformation of owners in tenants, it seems, did not contribute much to the increase of number of tenants. In acquisition of farmers' land by financial capital pauperization plays decisive role. For enlarging and concentration of land holdings dispossession of farmers is enforced by "economic means" of financial capital as effectively as that was done by fire, swords and scaffolds in "glorious revolutions" in Europe. In the battles with independence of farmers, financial capital does not look for captives. When a farm is foreclosed or purchased by a land company that does not mean an immediate addition of a new tenant. It means only an increase of territory for tenancy.

Financial capital separates land ownership from its cultivation and dispossession of farmers often is

carried thru or supervised by another set of offices or agents from that which takes care about exploitation of acquired lands. These are separate processes and require separate consideration. If we mix them up then it is impossible to recognize their true features. A cruel attack of financial capital on land holdings of independent farmers in some sections can look then as an expression of crisis in agricultural production; a victory of financial capital we may accept then as a sign of decay of capitalism; confiscation of farmers' savings in imposed forms of bankruptcy can appear then as another sign of crisis in production.

Creation of New Farmers Movement.

Acquiring ownership of land as means to exempt and to appropriate in the form of land rent the values produced in agricultural financial capital produces the basis for tenancy and creates on this basis capitalistic tenancy as the typical form of relations which insure unceasing direct flow of land rent and profits in the vaults of banks.

As by the means in acquisition of land ownership—mortgages, taxes, manipulated freight rates, etc.—so by increased skinning of people in the tenant system financial capital creates a new farmers' movement which can be ended only with the end of the system of exploitation in all its forms. It is impossible for this new farmers' movement to dissolve itself on individually owned farms, as that happened with previous farmers' movements. This new farmers' movement has neither the old traditional economic foundations, nor traditional armies of prospective settlers. It cannot have their traditional end.

"The Story of John Brown"

This is "The Story of John Brown," by Michael Gold. Published by the DAILY WORKER thru arrangement with Haldeman-Julius Company, of Girard, Kans. Copyrighted, 1924, by Haldeman-Julius Company.

The Arsenal Is Captured.

EVENTS flashed sharp and terrible and swift as lightning after this sombre opening of the storm. The telegraph wires were cut, the watchman at the bridge captured, guards were placed at the two bridges leading out of the town, and many citizens were taken from the streets and held as prisoners in the Arsenal.

Perhaps the most distinguished prisoner was Colonel Lewis W. Washington, a great-grand-nephew of the first President, and like him, a gentleman farmer and slave owner. He lived five miles from the Ferry, and with the instinct of a dramatist, John Brown seized him and freed his slaves as a means of impressing on the American imagination that a new revolution for human rights was being ushered in.

Brown's Heroic Struggle.

The little town was peaceful and unprepared for this sudden attack, as unprepared as it would be today for a similar raid. By morning, however, the alarm had

been spread; the church bells rang, military companies from Charlestown and other neighboring towns began pouring in, the saloons were crowded with nervous and hard-drinking men, and there was the clamor and furor of thousands of awe-struck Southerners. No one knew how many men were in the Arsenal. No one knew whether the whole South was not being attacked by Abolitionists, or whether or not all the slaves had risen against their masters, as they had attempted to years before in Nat Turner's and other rebellions.

By noon the Southerners had begun the attack. They killed or drove out all the guards John Brown had stationed at various strategic points in the town; they murdered two of Brown's men they had taken prisoners, and tortured another. They managed to cut off all of Brown's paths of retreat, and by nightfall, he and the few survivors of his men were in a trap.

Robert E. Lee Takes Fort.

His young son, Oliver, only twenty years old, and recently married, died in the night. He had been painfully wounded, and begged, in his agony, that his father shoot him and relieve him from pain. But the old Spartan held his boy's hand and told him to be calm and to die like a man. Another young son, Watson, had been killed earlier in the fighting. John Brown had now given three sons to freedom, and was soon himself to be a sacrifice.

There were left alive and unwounded but five of Brown's men. The Virginia militia, numbering, with the civilians in the town, up to the thousands, seemed afraid to attack this little group of desperate men. In the dawn of the next morning, however, United States marines, under the famous commander, Robert E. Lee then a Colonel in the Federal forces, attacked the arsenal and captured it easily. John Brown refused to surrender to the last; and he stood waiting proudly for the marines when they broke down the door and came raging like tigers at him.

Brown Beaten Mercilessly. A fierce young Southern officer

ran at him with a sword, that bent double as it pierced to the old man's breast bone. The young Southerner then took the bent weapon in his hands and beat Brown's head unmercifully with the hilt, bringing the blood, and knocking senseless the old unselfish and tender champion of poor Negro men and women. Those near him thought John Brown was dead; but he was still alive; he had still his greatest work to do.

(To Be Continued Monday.)
(John Brown's Men.)

Moskvin In "Polikushka"



Ivan Moskvin, the star in the great photoplay, "Polikushka." Moskvin plays the character of a ragged, ill-kempt stableman and makes an appealing though magically futile figure out of him. The picture was shown in Orchestra Hall, recently by the Friends of Soviet Russia and Workers Germany. It will be shown over the nation by the Friends of Soviet Russia and Workers' Germany during the weeks ahead.

Labor Limericks

By CHARLES ASHLEIGH

An earnest young curate, named Flynn,
Said the workers were living in sin.
So he chased and he harried
Both single and married—
Then died from devotion to gin.

A stout pompous person, named Bleeder,
A prominent union leader,—
Said: "You ask why I dine
With the boss?—I like wine;
And, then, I'm a vigorous feeder."

A learned professor, named Bray,
Said: "I really can't make teaching pay!"
So he lectures on Russia,
And says we must crush 'er.
And guzzles champagne every day.